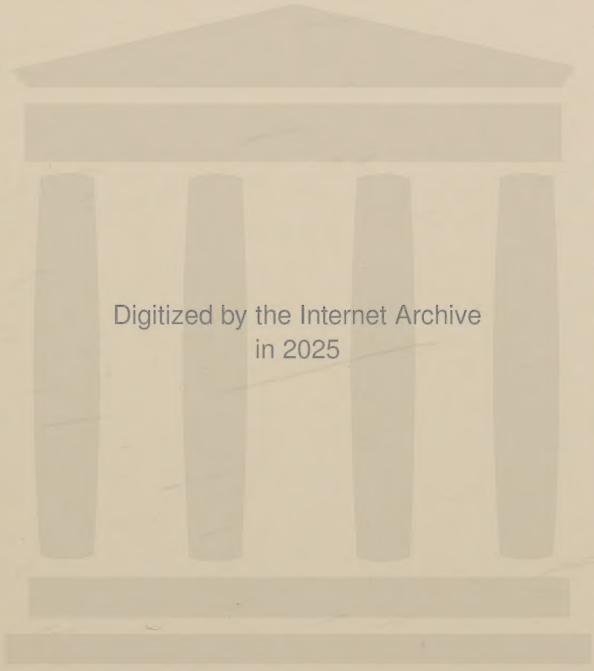

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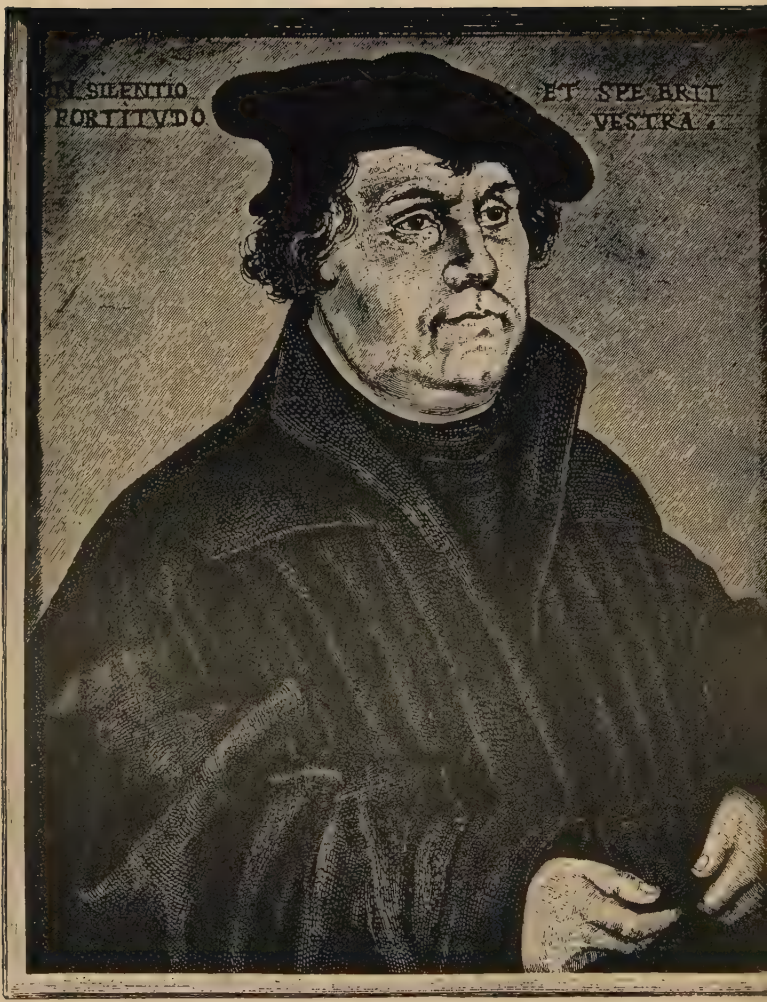
Διαιρέσεις χαρισμάτων, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα.

DIVERSITIES OF GIFTS, BUT THE SAME SPIRIT.

MARTIN LUTHER



LUTHER. *Frontispiece.*

AFTER A PAINTING BY CRANACH.

MARTIN LUTHER

THE HERO OF THE REFORMATION

1483–1546

Stacks

BY

HENRY EYSTER JACOBS

DEAN AND PROFESSOR OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY, EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN SEMINARY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

AUTHOR OF "THE LUTHERAN MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND DURING THE REIGNS OF HENRY VIII. AND EDWARD VI., AND ITS LITERARY MONUMENTS"; "A HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES"

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PREFACE

IN preparing this outline, the chief difficulty has been to select and condense the material. The aim has been to follow the growth of Luther into the position which has given him his fame, and to describe that position with fairness. I have drawn chiefly from the letters and works of Luther and Melanchthon, and collections of documents in Löscher, Gerdesius, and Seckendorf, but have utilised also all other available sources of information and aids in classifying material, particularly the scientific biographies of Julius Köstlin[1] and Th. Kolde,[2] the admirable sketch of Karl Burk,[3] and the still more extensive popular work of Martin Rade.[4]

[1] *Martin Luther, Sein Leben und seine Schriften*, 2 vols.; vol. i., p. 811; vol. ii., p. 679. Elberfeld, 1875.

[2] *Martin Luther, Eine Biographie*, 2 vols.; vol. i., p. 396. Gotha, 1884. Vol. ii., p. 626. Gotha, 1893.

[3] *Martin Luther*, p. 343. Stuttgart, 1883.

[4] *Doktor Martin Luther's Leben, Thaten, und Meinungen, auf*

Particular acknowledgments are due the editor of this series, the Rev. Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D., LL.D., for many valuable suggestions; to my colleague, the Rev. Adolph Spaeth, D.D., LL.D., a lifelong student and expounder of Luther's writings, for constant advice and numberless favours; and to Julius F. Sachse, the author of *The History of the German Pietists in Pennsylvania*, for important aid in the selection and preparation of illustrations. The apparatus collected by my predecessor in this seminary, Rev. Charles Porterfield Krauth, D.D., LL.D., for an exhaustive scientific presentation of Luther's life from an American standpoint, upon which he was engaged at the time of his death in January, 1883, has been constantly at hand and gratefully used.

HENRY EYSTER JACOBS.

LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., April 27, 1898.

Grund reichlicher Mittheilungen aus seinen Briefen und Schriften dem Volke erzählt von Lic. theol. Martin Rade (*Paul Martin*), 3 vols.; vol. i., p. 772; vol. ii., p. 746; vol. iii., p. 718. Neusalza, 1887.

KEY TO THE CHIEF REFERENCES.

ERLANGEN = Edition of *Luther's Works*, published at Erlangen, originally edited by J. G. Plochmann and J. K. Irmischer. German treatises, 1826–57, 67 vols; Latin treatises, 1829–86, 38 vols.

ERLANGEN^2 = Reissue of first 20 vols. of the German treatises in the above edition. Frankfort, 1862–86.

WALCH = Edition of *Luther's Works*, published at Halle, edited by J. G. Walch. 1740–50, 24 parts.

WEIMAR = Edition of *Luther's Works*, in process of publication under patronage of the German Emperor, edited by J. C. F. Knaake and others. 1883 *sqq*.

OP. EX. = Erlangen edition of Luther's Latin exegetical works.

OP. VAR. ARG. = Erlangen edition of Luther's Latin works pertaining to the history of the Reformation.

DE WETTE = Luther's Letters, edited by W. M. L. De Wette and J. K. Seidemann. Berlin, 1825–56, 6 parts.

C. R. = *Corpus Reformatorum*, vols. 1–28, containing Melanchthon's works edited by Bretschneider and Bindseil. Halle, 1832–50.

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BOOK I

THE MONK

1483–1517

EISLEBEN IN LUTHER'S TIME.

CHAPTER I

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

WHATEVER may have been its defects and abuses, a genuine religious life deeply pervaded the German people during the Middle Ages. The great movement known as the Reformation was not the introduction from without of a new principle doing violence to the matured product of forces nurtured throughout its entire existence within the Mediæval Church. Within great institutions, as well as within the minds of individuals, principles often coexist in apparent peace, that need only to be earnestly applied and to be carried to their necessary conclusions, in order to be found antagonistic. The break comes when adherents, hitherto dwelling in one camp, divide according to their convictions of the truth or the error of the one or the other principle which both have thus far confessed in common. Luther was a true son of the Church. His spiritual life had been enkindled and

nurtured from the Church's ministration of word and sacrament. Devout parents had trained him from childhood in the fear of God. His earlier school-days afforded him at least some truth for the faith of his heart to grasp. The daily services to which he was accustomed long before he found the Bible at Erfurt, familiarised him with much of the saving word of God. All through his university career, to the decisive moment when he retired from the world and became a monk, and then again, as within the monastery he fought over in his own heart the battles he was afterwards to fight without, his struggle towards the light was the necessary result of his honest belief of much that the Church had taught him, and of the constraint of conscience that impelled him to be true to his convictions. Luther is to be regarded, not as the founder of a new Church, or as the leader of a new school of Church life and thought, so much as the representative and heir of all that was noblest and best in mediæval Christianity; and as the pioneer of a new order of things only in so far as he fearlessly carried to their conclusions the premises that others were either unable or unwilling to apply.

As often happens with those who have attained a world-wide distinction, there have been writers who have claimed for Luther noble ancestry. This claim he himself silenced in the words: "I am a peasant's son. My father, grandfather, and ancestors were all peasants."[1] According to general

[1] Walch's Halle edition of Luther's works (subsequently referred to as Walch), xxii., 55.

agreement, the name is properly the personal name "Lothar," which, in course of time, became the family name, Luther.

The home of the Luther family, which is still that of some of its descendants, was on the western slope of the Thuringian forest, at the small village of Möhra, a dry and treeless hamlet, containing at that time about fifty families. Henry, the grandfather of Martin Luther, owned considerable property; and the entire family at Möhra, during the life of their great representative, seems to have been in relatively comfortable circumstances, owning, as was usual among their neighbours, the farms which they tilled, and the houses in which they lived. Here Luther's grandmother lived until 1522. It was from the house of his uncle, with whom she was making her home, that Luther went forth on the morning of that memorable day in May, 1521, when, upon his way from the Diet of Worms, he was arrested and carried to the Wartburg. Two brothers of his father, eminently respectable men, who had the high esteem of their nephew, appear again and again, until a late period in Luther's life, and thus render the inference highly probable that John, the father of Martin, was the eldest son.

Much conjecture has been spent upon the question, as to what took John Luther and his wife to Eisleben, about eighty miles northeast of Möhra, where, during a brief stay, their son, Martin, was born, November 10, 1483. Who can believe that, with the primitive mode of travelling then in use, and at a time so critical for the wife and mother,

the young couple could have gone thither either for attendance on the fair, or for purchases? If, according to a widely circulated report, for which no evidence exists, however, John Luther had actually slain a man with whom he had had an altercation, the fact that he remained within the territory of the Elector of Saxony shows that he was no fugitive from justice, while the position of honour to which he was elevated afterwards by his fellow-citizens in Mansfeld, removes any stigma which an accidental or justifiable homicide may have entailed. On the contrary, we may well believe that John Luther, realising that not all the children could be supported from the estate at Möhra, left his younger brothers with their mother in the possession at least of the family home, while he went forth to search for another field of labour and means of livelihood. In the hills around Möhra, he had learned the art of mining copper, and adopted it as his trade. The neighbourhood of Eisleben, like that of Mansfeld, which was only a few miles distant, abounded in copper-mines. When the child was only six months old, his parents removed from Eisleben to Mansfeld; so that the latter, and not his birthplace, was known as the home of his childhood. Of both parents, as they appeared in later days, on their visits to Wittenberg, cotemporaries have left descriptions. The portraits painted by Lucas Cranach in 1527 perpetuate their faces. Both were of dark complexion, and less than medium stature. In the features of the father, determination, honesty, common sense, and thrift are clearly traceable. He

would be taken for a thoroughly practical man, who has struggled upwards, through severe hardship, to an honourable position, in which he has found his highest ambition realised. From a workman he had risen, not indeed to wealth, but to joint proprietorship in mines and furnaces, membership in the town council, and such esteem from his rulers, the Counts of Mansfeld, that his son could afterwards appeal to them for a testimony to his father's character. Between the mother, whose maiden name was Margaretha Ziegler (not Lindemann, as often given), and son, the resemblance was said to have been far more striking than between father and son. Earnest, devout, and strict, the religious character of the mother had much to do with that of her son, though her anxiety for the highest welfare of her child sometimes led her imperfectly educated conscience to unjustifiable severity in dealing with his faults. Coming, as Melanchthon reports, from an ancient and honourable family of Eisenach, her face wears the shadow of the struggles of her early married life with poverty, when she carried upon her back from the forest the supply of wood needed for the family fires.

Upon the testimony of his brother James, the year 1483 is assigned as the year of Martin Luther's birth; the parents, in later life, not being certain, and he himself caring little for the preservation of such personal matters. But the day and hour, November 10th, between eleven and twelve P.M., were never forgotten by his mother. Baptised the next day in St. Peter's Church, where the font of his baptism

may still be seen, he received the name of the saint commemorated on that day in the calendar.

His reminiscences of his childhood were not those of sunshine and rainbows and joyful sports and the delight of parents in the pleasure and playfulness of their children. With all his love for them, and his appreciation of the efforts they made to do the very best for his welfare, he regretted the harshness and severity which clouded the memory of his early years. Their love for their children expressed itself in the strictness with which they exacted the performance of the utmost detail of every duty, and the excessive punishment that was sure to follow the detection of the most trifling offence. Under the law themselves, the fear of punishment and the hope of reward were the chief motives for their discharge of duty; and they ruled their families as they thought that God ruled them. Their sombre view of life was doubtless intensified by their poverty and the strain of overwork.

"The apple," says Luther,[1] "should always lie beside the rod. Children should not be punished for trifling things, like cherries, apples, pears, nuts, as though they were serious matters. My parents dealt with me so severely that I was completely cowed. My mother once beat me for the sake of an insignificant nut, until the blood came. Her strictness and the rigorous life she compelled me to lead drove me into the monastery and made me a monk. But at heart they meant it well.

[1] Erlangen edition of Luther's works, first issue (subsequently referred to as Erlangen), 61: 274.

They were unable to discriminate between dispositions, and to adapt their correction accordingly."

Never did their devotion to their son cease. As, in later years, they followed him with implicit confidence, as their spiritual guide, and rejoiced in the freedom of the Gospel to which he led them, so in childhood his highest interests ever weighed on their hearts. Friends report that his father was found bending over his child's cradle in earnest prayer. He was early taught to pray. From his mother he learned the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. But of the meaning of most of that with which his memory was stored he was ignorant. The instructions of the mother abounded in the superstitions current at that time among the German peasantry, while the pictures and legends of the saints, and the processions and other ceremonies of the Church, made a deep impression upon his youthful mind. St. George, the patron of the Counts of Mansfeld, and St. Anna, the patroness of miners, were peculiarly revered. In his mature years he was pleased to read in the legend of the former a useful allegory. As his veneration for St. Anna was a later acquisition than that for St. George, it was more readily dismissed. The vivid sense of diabolical agency which characterised him throughout life was deeply rooted in the fears of supernatural enemies to be encountered in the dark, that pervaded the mining community in which he was raised.

Determined that his son should receive the very

best advantages for education that his limited means could afford, John Luther made many sacrifices in order to carry out this purpose. School-days began at so early an age that the child was sometimes carried to school by John Oemler, one of his older schoolmates, and, afterwards, his brother-in-law. The methods of the school were crude and mechanical; the teachers, rough and cruel. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were supplemented by some elementary religious instruction, and some pretence at teaching Latin. So liberal were the blows with which the blustering schoolmaster attempted to cover his incompetency, that the pupils had love neither for the teacher nor the branches which he represented. No less than fifteen times in a single morning did this bungling pedagogue beat this young child! He speaks from experience when, in mature life, he says: "It is a miserable thing, when, on account of severe punishments, children learn to dislike their parents; or pupils, their teachers. Many a clumsy schoolmaster, by blustering and storming and striking and beating, and by treating children precisely as though he were a hangman, completely ruins children of good disposition and excellent ability."[1] But for this school, with all its defects, it may be said that it gave him a knowledge of the Psalter, and of a number of the classical hymns, which he was in future years to translate and adapt to popular use.

In 1497, at the age of fourteen, a better school was found for him at Magdeburg. He did not go

[1] Erlangen, 61: 274.

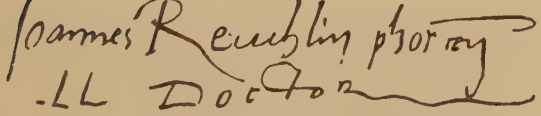
from Mansfeld alone. John Reineck, who accompanied him, remained his lifelong friend. Forty years afterwards, when Reineck, then foreman of a foundry, lost his wife, he received a letter of consolation from the schoolmate of his youth. Magdeburg, about forty miles north of his home, afforded him his first experience and contact with city life. The veneration with which he regarded the ecclesiastical buildings that were the ornament of the place, and were even then grey with age, can be imagined. As his teachers, he tells us, he had members of the religious society of the "Noll Brothers," a branch settlement of the "Brethren of the Common Life." This organisation, without exacting vows, had, as its end, the cultivation of a deeper spiritual life. Among his comrades was his subsequent co-labourer, Wenceslaus Link. Thrown upon his own resources for support, he sang for alms at the windows of the wealthier citizens, a mode of livelihood that had been rendered respectable by the example of the mendicant friars, who had exalted poverty to the rank of a virtue. Here he remained for but one year.

The next year, his parents preferring that he should not remain among entire strangers, he was transferred to Eisenach, the home of his mother's family, and not far from Möhra. But, as he continued to sing for his support, his relatives were probably not in such circumstances that they could aid him. Attracted by the open countenance and sweet voice of the boy, Madame Ursula Cotta, whose maiden name was Schalbe, the wife of a lead-

ing merchant and member of a prominent family of Italian descent, invited him into her house, and, finally, gave him a home for the rest of his Eisenach life. Not from its wealth and standing among contemporaries does the Cotta family live in history, but from this benevolent act, that has linked the name of Ursula Cotta with that of her renowned pensioner. In her home he was introduced to an entirely new sphere of life, and, just at the age when he most needed such advantages, experienced the ennobling influence of a cultivated Christian woman, and of a peaceful family life, unembarrassed by anxiety for daily support, spent in the fear of God, and attentive to the wants of those less highly favoured. At Eisenach he found also an instructor who contrasted greatly with those under whom he had previously been, and who gave him the first decided intellectual stimulus. In John Trebonius learning and courtesy were combined. What must have been the feeling of the boy, accustomed to the barbarous treatment in the school at his home, at finding at last a preceptor, eminent for his scholarship, uncovering his head in the presence of his pupils, and publicly censuring his assistants for neglecting to show the same respect to the future dignitaries who were, for the time, under their instruction! Such consideration inspired the pupils with self-respect, and rendered them eager to prove themselves worthy of the honour shown them. Melanchthon tells us that Luther was accustomed to boast of having been a pupil of such a teacher. Under Trebonius his progress was most rapid. All

his fellow-students were far surpassed. During this period his studies were chiefly grammatical and classical. Two influences must have affected his religious development at this time. His home in the Cotta family brought him into close relations with the institution of the Franciscans, in the near neighbourhood, founded and endowed by the Schalbe family, from which Mrs. Cotta came. He also became intimate with an Eisenach priest, by the name of Braun, who afterwards appears prominently as a correspondent.

Four years having been spent at Eisenach, almost under the shadow of the Wartburg, he entered the University of Erfurt in the summer semester of 1501. His name was enrolled as "Martinus Ludher ex Mansfeld." His father having prospered financially, he was relieved of all further care concerning his own support, and was thus enabled to devote himself entirely to his studies.



AUTOGRAPH OF REUCHLIN.

EISENACH IN LUTHER'S TIME.

CHAPTER II

STUDENT LIFE

ERFURT stood at the head of the German universities of the fifteenth century. Opened to students in 1392, it was chronologically the fifth, but in number of students the first. Called sometimes "The German Bologna," a current saying ran, that in Erfurt there were as many Masters of Arts as there were stones in the pavement; while another adage was: "He who would study well, must go to Erfurt." In 1455 alone, five hundred and thirty-eight students were matriculated, the entire attendance reaching two thousand. Popular demonstrations marked all public exercises of the University; for it was the pride of the city, which, while not ranking as a free town, was ambitious and enterprising, and a place of much importance,

chafing under the dominion of the Archbishop of Mayence.

In entering the University, Luther's plans for his future were not fixed. His father, who appreciated his marked abilities, thought that the profession of law offered him the best opportunities for success, and had shaped his course accordingly. As the first years were devoted to liberal studies, an immediate decision as to a profession was unnecessary. The two branches to which he devoted himself were philosophy and classical literature, or Humanism, as it was then called. Philosophy embraced not only logic and rhetoric, and some of the topics now assigned to metaphysics, but also the elements of the physical sciences, including astronomy, as taught in those days. The two best-known professors in the philosophical faculty at Erfurt were Jodocus Trutvetter, of Eisenach, and Bartholomew Arnoldi, of Usingen, both representatives of the later Scholasticism, which, under the banner of Nominalism, was gradually disintegrating. With all the ardour of his nature, Luther applied himself to philosophy, and eagerly accepted the teachings of his professors, especially Trutvetter. The text-books in use were the writings of William Occam, Peter D'Ailly, John Gerson, and Gabriel Biel. Nominalism, whose adherents were called also Terminists, denied the reality of general ideas, affirming that they have existence only as creations of the mind, and that, as reality is to be found only in the concrete and particular, objects can be known only as individuals.

"The Terminists," said Luther, "is the name of a school in the universities, to which I belonged. They oppose the Thomists, Scotists, and Albertinists, and are called also Occamists, from Occam, their founder. The controversy was as to whether such words as 'humanity' mean a common humanity, existing in all men, as Thomas and the rest held, or, as the Occamites and the Terminists say, there is no such common humanity, but it means all men individually, just as the picture of a man stands for all men. They, then, are called Terminists, who speak of a thing in its own proper terms just as they sound and mean, and attach thereto no strange and fanciful meanings. Occam is a wise and sensible man, who endeavoured earnestly to amplify and explain a subject."[1]

But he criticises Occam for his lack of spirituality, and "as one who had no knowledge of spiritual temptations."[2] Biel, he says, was read with great disappointment; but Gerson he held in the highest esteem, as one who had advanced far towards a true knowledge of the Gospel.[3] To Luther, the mystical side of Nominalism was attractive; since it taught that, as subjects can be known only individually, all other truths must be remitted to the domain of faith.

The time given to logic he never regretted.

"Logic," he says, "teaches one to say a thing distinctly and plainly, and in short, clear words. It does not give the ability to teach concerning all subjects, but is only an instrument enabling one to teach correctly, and

[1] Erlangen, 62: 113. [2] *Ib.*, 116. [3] *Ib.*

in proper order, what he has already learned. It enables one to give a round, short, and straight-to-the-point definition, and is highly necessary for use in schools, courts, and churches." [1]

Like arithmetic, he regarded it an indispensable formal science. His only criticism is that the technical terms, such as "syllogism," "enthymeme," "proposition," ought to be translated into plain German.[2] For the study of astronomy, he found a direct command in Gen. xv., 5, and commended it for the wonders it disclosed, such as the rapid movement of the firmament, whereby, in twenty-four hours, it traverses "several thousand miles"; the fact that "a star is larger than the whole earth, and, yet, there are so many stars"; the peculiar movements of the planets; the twinkling of the stars, etc. "Astronomy and mathematics I praise; but astrology I regard of no account." [3]

But since, at Erfurt, Humanism was undermining Scholasticism, the study of the Greek and Latin classics corrected the one-sided development, which exclusive attention to the merely formal and natural sciences would have given. The classics were the windows through which he looked from the seclusion of his study into the world, and was able to read human nature, and to learn the habits and passions and motives of men of other times and other lands. Little did he care for comparative etymology or textual criticism. What he sought was the picture of life, to be found in these writers.

[1] Erlangen, 62 : 303. [2] *Ib.*, 298 *sq.*, 303. [3] *Ib.*, 317 *sqq.*

He estimated them, not according to their style, but according to their sense. Like a well-trained logician, he weighed their arguments. "He read them," says Melanchthon, "not like boys who pick out words, but for their doctrine and pictures of life. The maxims and judgments of these writers were closely examined, and, as his memory was faithful, most that he read and heard was ever at his command."[1] His illustrations from these sources, in after life, were numerous and apt. Cicero was, above all, his favourite. "He who wants to learn true philosophy, must read Cicero." "He has written more than all the philosophers, and has read all the books of the Greeks."[2] Next in his regard came Ovid and Vergil, whom he prized for their maxims. He was familiar also with Livy and Strabo, Plautus and Terence. The descriptions and allusions, reflecting the corruption of the age in which they lived, he would have banished from the schools.

In the prosecution of these studies, according to the testimony of Melanchthon, Luther became so distinguished that "his talents were the admiration of the University." But he was not so absorbed in his studies as to take no interest in the general life of the place. Academic ceremonies he continued, throughout life, to commend, as advancing the glory of God. In circles of intimate friends, the sociability of his nature found frank, and, possibly, even boisterous expression. They called him "Musicus," because of his skill in playing the lyre,

[1] *C. R.*, 6: 157 (see note 2, p. 29). [2] Erlangen, 62: 341.

an art in which he was self-taught, having learned it while confined to his room on account of a dangerous wound he had accidentally received in his leg. One of his comrades in the University, John Lange, continued to be a lifelong confidential friend. On September 29, 1502, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and, at Epiphany, 1505, his graduation, with seventeen others, as Master of Arts, was celebrated by a torch-light procession and other brilliant demonstrations usual at that time in the University.

Of his religious life during his student days we know little. Matthesius, his pupil and intimate friend, is authority for two important statements. One is that he began the work of every day with prayer, according to his motto: *Bene orasse est bene studuisse* ("To pray well is to study well"). The other is that, in the examination of the volumes in the University library, he found a copy of the Latin Bible, and was delighted at having, at last, in his hands the entire volume, from which the lessons already well known to him in the Missal and Breviary, had been taken. The first passage that met his eyes was the story of Hannah, in First Samuel.

Among the preachers at Erfurt, he used to speak of a Dr. Sebastian Weinmann, as a zealous advocate of the law, but lamented that, during his entire career there, he had never heard either a gospel or a psalm properly explained. The city abounded in evidences of religious life. Rich in churches and chapels, cloisters and fraternities, it recalled at every step the religious instruction of his childhood.

The burning coal, thus kept alive, was destined to start a conflagration when the great crisis in his career came. That crisis was his choice of a profession. His father intended him for a lawyer. At considerable expense, the necessary books had been purchased, and he had begun to attend lectures on jurisprudence. But Luther was never made to be a jurist. For collecting precedents he had no taste. Red tape has its uses, and the world needs those who insist upon it; but the free spirit of Luther could never have been confined by its trammels, or suppressed by the rigidity and minuteness of its demands. His sympathy with his fellow-men, and his love of determining general principles, and, through them, reaching a destined end, were too great. Often throughout his life the adage, *Summum jus, summa injuria* ("The strictest justice may be the greatest injustice"), came from his pen. There must be, said he, not law, but equity; since there must be forgiveness of sins. The spiritual danger of those who adopted the legal profession was a frequent subject of his remarks. For the calling, therefore, for which his father had intended him, he had no love; and yet, from obedience to his parents, he felt it his duty to follow the path they had prescribed. This conflict quickened within him the sense of his relation to the higher law, on which his obedience to parents was based. The sudden death of a friend, who, according to the best accounts, was assassinated, some say by his very side, followed, shortly afterwards, by a narrow escape from death by lightning, in a forest on the way between

Erfurt and Eisleben, determined him to obey what he then regarded as the commands of a higher law. Terrified by the violence of the storm that was raging around him, and especially by the fearful bolts that were crashing through the trees, addressing one of the patron saints of his childhood, the protectress of the Saxon miners, he cried out: "Help me, dear St. Anna! I will become a monk." Misguided in this though he was, he thus, under the sense of his responsibility to God, asserted his Christian freedom.

The vow thus made was faithfully performed. Two weeks later, on July 16, 1505, he invited his most intimate friends to spend the evening with him. It was what he believed to be his farewell to the world. For the last time he determined to enjoy music and song. The decision once made, all sadness was gone. The contradictions of his life were clearly reflected by his conduct that evening. He who could sing and play over the prospect of renouncing, for Christ's sake, singing and playing, was to find, hereafter, that Christ was to be honoured by song and music, rather than by silence, and by social intercourse and contact with the world, rather than by seclusion. Sorrowfully his friends accompanied him, the next morning, to the gates of the Augustinian cloister, where he knocked for admission. As they opened, he entered. They closed. The monastic habit was assumed. The world was left behind.

DESIGNED BY LUTHER'S COLLEAGUE, DR. JUSTUS JONAS.

CHAPTER III

IN THE CLOISTER

HE was now face to face with the deepest question that could agitate man's mind. The one great subject that was henceforth to absorb his attention was that of his relation to God. Deeply devout, the principles were already rooted in his heart that were to push their way through severe conflict to a complete victory over the errors that attended them and held him captive.

Whatever abuses pervaded monachism, due credit should ever be given to the moral earnestness in which it originated, and the spiritual influence which, during the period of the Church's decline, it often exercised and diffused. Even though they fell under the corrupting influences against which they arose as protests, nevertheless what mediæval Christianity would have been without its religious orders, it is difficult to surmise. In the midst of an ignorant, careless, and often immoral clergy, and

under bishops completely secularised, the monks, as they moved from place to place, were the preachers and spiritual guides of the people, and, mistaken though they often were, they asserted the claims of God, and awakened men to the sense of the eternal and spiritual. When time wrought changes, and institutions, intent on spiritual interests, were corrupted, reforms were repeatedly instituted, or new orders were founded, to fulfil the design that the orders then existing had no longer in view.

The Augustinian Hermits, to whom the cloister at Erfurt belonged, originated in 1256 by the union of eight minor orders, and received its name from the "Rule of St. Augustine," compiled from the writings of the great Church Father, which formed the basis of their constitution. A recent vigorous attempt, on the part of Andreas Proles, to correct abuses and to enforce the requirements of a stricter life, had led to the establishment, within the Order, of an organisation or "special congregation," to whom the Augustinians of Saxony belonged. Purity of outward life, deep earnestness, and, especially, activity and reputation as preachers, characterised these Saxon monks. Among the new requirements of this "special congregation" was that of diligence in the study of the Holy Scriptures. But it would be erroneous to infer from their name that any particular stress was laid upon the Augustinian doctrines of sin and grace. It was rather for the churchly side of his teaching, than as the opponent of Pelagius, that Augustine was revered. The Vicar-General of the "congregation," John Staupitz,

accepted a purer teaching of the Gospel than was hitherto current; but he did not realise whither his principles led. Such questions as were agitating the mind of Luther were regarded with indifference by the great body of monks.

Proud though the entire cloister was that it had gained so brilliant a master of arts, no difference was at first made between him and other novitiates. In this first grade one year was spent. With his name exchanged for that of "Brother Augustine," and under the charge of the master of novices, he endured the most rigid discipline, until the authorities of the University interfered, and obtained some mitigations for its distinguished alumnus. Sweeping, scrubbing, scouring, begging from door to door, occupied a good portion of his time. The instructions which he received were chiefly concerning such trivialities as how to stand, to walk, to sit, to kneel, how to hold his hands and direct his eyes, how to eat and drink, and how to conduct himself in the presence of priests and other superiors. Every effort was taken to suppress any germs of pride that might still exist, and to accustom him to the most humiliating obedience. At a weekly confessional service, each brother publicly enumerated his sins, and reports were made by censors of such sins in others as had come to their notice. If the novice had at any time been late, or had fallen asleep, or had made an unnecessary noise, or occasioned a laugh during service, he could be absolved upon the repetition of a psalm. But if he had broken the silence in his cell, or had spoken to a woman, the rod de-

BUILDING OF THE CISTERCIAN MONASTERY, SCHÖNAU, NEAR HEIDELBERG.

FROM A GERMAN MS. OF THE XVITH CENTURY.

scended upon his bared shoulders. Imprisonment, fetters, a fare of bread and water, were the penalties for the most serious offences. So exacting were the rules, and so sure the punishment, that a tender conscience would readily find matters of sin within spheres concerning which God's word is silent, and would be tortured lest it might fail to notice any omissions of duty. In order to detect any trace of sin, every thought and word was analysed. For solid study, there was little time or taste. Luther's associates were envious of their more scholarly brother, and reminded him that his duty was to beg rather than to study. But what time he could command, was chiefly given to the Holy Scriptures, a copy of which was placed in his hands. Matthesius reports how he read the Psalter and the Epistles to the Romans and the Hebrews, weighing each sentence word by word. Much of his time was occupied with the daily services of the cloister. Mention may be made alone of the repetition of the Pater Noster twenty times, with the Ave Maria, at each of the seven daily canonical hours. Some concession, however, was made in the omission of some hours at certain seasons of the year.

At the end of the year he was admitted, with the customary rites, to full membership in the Order. To Almighty God, the Virgin Mary, and the prior of the monastery he vowed obedience, promising to live, until death, without property and in celibacy. The ceremony over, he was pronounced free from sin, just as though he were a child coming forth from holy baptism. Allotted a cell with the very

plainest furniture—a table, a chair, a couch, and a lamp,—he was introduced to the study of scholastic theology, under professors living in the monastery, John Paltz and John Natin. The text-books for instruction were mainly the writings of the teachers who had been his masters in philosophy, Occam and Gerson, Biel and D'Ailly. But he was dissatisfied. In his studies he took no real interest. He pursued them alone for the practical end that, by subjection to this discipline, he might find peace of conscience in the assurance of salvation. So attentive was he to every duty, that his instructor, Natin, declared to a cloister of nuns, at Muehlhausen, that he was a model of holiness, and had been miraculously converted. "In all the exercises of lessons, discussions, fastings, prayers," says Melanchthon, "he far surpassed all." "If a monk ever could have gone to heaven by his observance of monastic vows," Luther afterwards declared, "I would have been the one."[1] But the more he was commended, the more he felt his spiritual poverty. Nothing was as interesting to him as his Bible; and, yet, he was warned against its constant use, lest it might nurture his pride, and cause him to undervalue the scholastic writers, in whom, it was asserted, the very marrow of Scriptural teaching was to be found.

A survey of the religious opinions and teachings with which he was struggling, can be gathered, without difficulty, from his full confessions in subsequent years. The one thought of God, overshadowing all others, was that of His wrath. Notwithstanding

[1] Erlangen, 31 : 273.

all his efforts for righteousness, he regarded himself as the object of this wrath. Christ, he knew, had been given as Redeemer; but not for the sins of all men, nor even for all the sins of the redeemed. He was entangled in speculations concerning predestination. Redemption afforded the opportunity for a new effort on man's part, rather than paid the full penalty for sin. Only sins committed before baptism were forgiven because of Christ's death; the effect of His vicarious work upon other sins was only to commute the penalty, so as to render man's satisfaction possible. Instead of Redeemer, Christ was regarded as a new Lawgiver, offering salvation upon easier terms than Moses. But, even with these terms mitigated, how could man ever be sure that he fulfilled them? If monastic observances were to advance his salvation, how could he ever be satisfied that they were performed with sufficient perfection? He confesses:

"For so long a time I laboured and tortured myself with fasts, vigils, prayers, etc., that thereby I might attain this assurance. But, for my whole life, my heart could not be assured that God was well pleased with the work that I had done, or had certainly heard my prayer. Even when I prayed most devoutly every day, and confessed most fully, and said Mass, and did the very best, if any one had asked me, 'Are you sure that you have the Holy Ghost?' I must have answered: 'God forbid that I should be so presumptuous! I am a poor sinner. I have done this and that; but know not whether it have certainly pleased God.' For fifteen years I was just such a pious monk; and yet never advanced so far

as to be able to say, 'Now I am sure that God is gracious to me,' or, 'Now I have sought and experienced that my devotion to my Order and my strict life have helped and led me towards heaven.' Never was I able to say, 'O God, I know that my prayer, made in the Name and faith of Christ, Thy dear Son, pleases Thee, and is assuredly heard.'"[1]

Such prayers were not what the Holy Scriptures know as prayers. There was no joyful communion of the soul with a reconciled and loving Father. Estimated by their number and frequency, so that prayers omitted at one time could be made up afterwards, they were only exercises of self-mortification, whereby an attempt was made to purchase God's favour. Between Christ Himself, regarded as Lawgiver, and therefore, like the Father, an angry Judge, the Virgin Mary and the saints were interposed; and only through them could the distressed soul reach its Redeemer. Even of his favourite among the scholastics, he says: "Occam, my dear Master, writes that it cannot be proved from the Holy Scriptures that, in order to do good works, the Holy Spirit is necessary."[2]

But, amidst this darkness, there were those who were enlightened by the truth contained in the portions of the Holy Scriptures they had read, and in the collects and other portions of the Missal and Breviary. Not so keenly as Luther had they felt the conflict between the evangelical and unevangelical elements so strangely intermingled in the Church.

[1] Erlangen, 17 : 13 *sq.* *Cf. ib.*, 46 : 64, 73; 49 : 300, 314.

[2] Walch, xix., 2324.

Without the same depth of spiritual earnestness, they had not made the same endeavour to fulfil every requirement and meet every condition; and, therefore, were content to be comforted by the truth that they apprehended, and to overlook the errors that pervaded the entire system of doctrine and orders of devotion. To this class belonged an old monk, to whom he once confessed his mental anguish, and who comforted him by saying: "My son, do you not know that God has commanded us to hope?"[1] Still more impressive was another answer, when his adviser pointed him to the article of the Creed: "I believe the forgiveness of sins"; with the interpretation that we are not to believe that only some persons receive forgiveness, as the demons believe that David or Peter is forgiven, but that it is God's command that each one should believe that his own sins are forgiven.[2] A passage, cited from Bernard of Clairvaux, in which the emphasis was laid upon the one word, *Tibi*, "For thee," became a permanent treasure of his heart, as its echo in the explanation of the Small Catechism, treating of the Lord's Supper, clearly shows. But, even with the answer to his doubts within him, the conflict for a long time continued. The works of Augustine were studied, especially his notes on the Psalms. The treatise, *Of the Spirit and Letter*, afforded much support to his faith, but, again, oc-

[1] Erlangen edition of Luther's Latin exegetical works (subsequently referred to as *Op. ex.*), 19: 200.

[2] *Corpus Reformatorum* (containing in its first 28 vols. the works of Melanchthon and subsequently referred to as *C. R.*), 6: 159.

casioned doubt by its suggestions concerning an absolute predestination.

Another member of the Order, in whom the evangelical principle prevailed, and who was of inestimable service to Luther, was its Vicar-General, John von Staupitz. A man of noble family, of imposing appearance, of liberal culture, of a deeply mystical type of Christianity, a graduate of Tuebingen, a professor and dean of the University of Wittenberg, an intimate friend and influential adviser of the Elector of Saxony, he had, in 1503, succeeded Andrew Proles as the head of the Reformed Augustinians. In his visitations to Erfurt he became acquainted with Luther and his spiritual conflicts. With the utmost freedom the young monk disclosed to him the secrets of his heart. Staupitz told him that the difficulty was that he was constantly trying to find sins where there were none, and that his confessions were occupied with matters that were absolutely trivial. When Luther spoke of his fear of Christ, Staupitz answered: "That is not Christ, for Christ does not terrify; He only consoles." When he explained his difficulties concerning predestination, Staupitz advised that, whenever he considered the subject, he should think of the wounds of Christ, and all his controversial zeal would vanish.[1] Many years after, Luther wrote: "If Dr. Staupitz, or rather God, through Dr. Staupitz, had not aided me in this, I would have been long since

[1] Luther's *Letters*, edited by De Wette and Seidemann (subsequently referred to as De Wette), 4: 187; *Op. ex.*, 6: 296; Erlangen, 57: 146.

DR. STAUPITZ

AFTER A CONTEMPORARY OIL PAINTING IN THE AUGUSTINIAN MONASTERY
AT SALZBURG

in hell."[1] Staupitz warned against the danger of trusting to his own powers, and taught man's inability to do aught, except by the grace of God, upon which man is to implicitly trust. The true meaning of repentance was, likewise, explained as a habit, or state of heart and life, rooted in love to God, rather than an act or a succession of acts.[2] This explanation afterwards emerged in the very first of the Ninety-five Theses of 1517.

Ordained to the priesthood in 1507, his first celebration of the Mass was an occasion of peculiar interest. Cantate Sunday, May 2d, was designated as the time, with especial reference to the convenience of his father, who, deeply offended by his entrance into the monastery, had pronounced the son a madman, but had been softened by the death, from plague, of two other sons. He came, accompanied by no less than twenty friends, on horseback. To the new priest the service was a great trial. The sense of his unworthiness and the fear of committing a grievous sin by making even the most trifling mistake, oppressed him. As he contemplated the thought, which he actually believed a reality, that his words brought the Body and Blood of his Lord to the altar, he trembled. The act over, he received the presents and congratulations of friends, his father honouring the occasion with a liberal gift. Now was the opportunity, thought Luther, to obtain a word of acquiescence and approval from his hitherto relentless parent. At the banquet that followed, he publicly put to him the question, as to whether he

[1] Erlangen, 56 : 39.

[2] De Wette, 1 : 116.

were not satisfied. With characteristic frankness and firmness, the plain old man addressed, not his son, but the whole company: "Ye learned men, have ye not read in the Holy Scriptures, that father and mother are to be honoured?" When some one answered that the son, however, had had a call from heaven, the father was not disconcerted, but suggested that what they regarded a call from heaven, might have been a delusion of the devil.[1]

[1] De Wette, 2: 100 *sqq.*

UNIVERSITY OF ERFURT.

WITTENBERG IN LUTHER'S TIME.

CHAPTER IV

THE PROFESSOR

ABOUT sixty miles S.S.W. from Berlin, and forty miles N.N.E. from Leipzig, on the railway route between the two cities, lies Wittenberg, the small city which is most closely associated with Luther's name. At the beginning of the sixteenth century it was, according to Luther, "on the borders of civilisation," and contained about three thousand poverty-stricken inhabitants, living in three or four hundred low, frame, straw-thatched houses, built upon a sandy plain, that suffered severely from periodical visitations of the plague. But there were compensations. Here, until 1542, was the residence of the Electoral princes of Saxony. Two large churches, known as the *Stadt Kirche*, or Parochial church, and the *Schloss Kirche*, or Castle

church, were centres of religious life. The latter, having originated in the chapel of the castle, was erected in 1449, and became a point from which the neighbouring village churches were supplied with priests, a work that had necessitated the founding of a chapter-house for the accommodation of the clergy. An Augustinian cloister had also found a home there.

The Elector Frederick the Wise (born 1463; Elector from 1486) was a man of liberal culture, being well versed in the Latin classics, and having the French language at his command. He was also an interested student of all that was then taught of the natural sciences, and had supplemented his studies by extensive travels. In him the suggestion of the Emperor Maximilian I., at the Diet of Worms in 1495, that each of the Electors should endeavour to found a university within his territory, for the cultivation of his subjects, met with hearty sympathy. There is a tradition of a break in the faculty of Leipzig, on account of a controversy between its two leading medical professors, Pistoris and Pollich, rendering their continued association an impossibility, and the consequent effort of each to establish a new university in which to find a new field of labour, resulting in the University of Frankfort as the new school for Pistoris, and that of Wittenberg for Pollich. However this may be, Dr. Pollich certainly performed an important part in laying the foundations of Wittenberg. He had been the tutor of the Elector, was both physician and jurist, and had accompanied Frederick on his pilgrimage to the Holy

Sepulchre. Neither Erfurt nor Leipzig could be relied upon for any great service to Ernestine Saxony. The former was under the control of the Archbishop of Mayence, while the latter belonged to the territory of the Albertine branch of the Elector's family. The chapter-house and Augustinian cloister at Wittenberg offered a supply of teachers who could be advantageously used, as long as the University would be in a formative state, and its revenues too limited for the support of a better-equipped corps of instructors. Besides Pollich, Staupitz was soon enlisted in the enterprise. On October 18, 1502, the University was formally opened, with Pollich as the first rector, and Staupitz as the dean of the theological faculty. It was modelled after the University of Tuebingen, with which it stood in close relations. The opening sermon played upon the name of the place, and prophesied concerning the true wisdom that would emanate thence, and be diffused throughout the world. It was an Augustinian institution, a truly denominational college of the sixteenth century. Augustine was made its patron saint, and St. Paul the peculiar model of the members of its theological faculty. On the first day four hundred and sixteen students were enrolled. But the project was too extensive for the resources. Enthusiasm was chilled, and a rapid decline in the attendance seemed to indicate its early dissolution. The removal to Herzberg, in 1506, on account of the plague, threatened to be the death-blow of the young institution. But in 1507 it was again in Wittenberg, and from that time it

ceased to be an experiment. The Pope having, in that year, given its establishment his formal ratification, the Elector, who had hitherto supported it exclusively by private gifts, was justified in applying public revenues to this end. The number of instructors and lecturers for that year rose to thirty-eight.

With wise forethought, Staupitz not only called eminent scholars to important chairs, but provided for the training of future professors, by appointing the most promising young scholars among the Augustinians under him as instructors. In November, 1508, seven such instructors were sent by him to Wittenberg, where, although engaged in university work, they were to reside at the Augustinian monastery, and devote a large portion of their time to study, evidently with a view to service in after years. Luther was summoned to become one of this number, and so suddenly that he was unable to take leave of his most intimate friends. At Wittenberg he found the most stimulating of his Erfurt professors, Trutvetter, who had preceded him by a year, while his former professor of law, Henning Goede, was soon to follow, and to be the main instrument in thoroughly organising the new University. The energetic administration of a young professor of law, Christopher Scheurl, of Nuremberg, as rector, had contributed much toward increasing the numbers and good discipline of the students, whom he forbade to carry weapons, or to visit saloons or taverns. In the theological faculty were Nicholas von Amsdorf, destined to become one of Luther's warmest adherents, and Andrew

Bodenstein von Carlstadt, whose revolutionary radicalism Luther was to resist with as much vigour as the assumptions of the Papacy.

For the first few months, the distasteful task of lecturing upon the Dialectics and Physics of Aristotle was assigned to Luther. These lectures were delivered, probably, not in the University, but in the monastery. To his friend, Braun of Eisenach, he wrote that he would very gladly exchange philosophy for theology. "Theology is the branch, which examines the kernel of the nut, the flour of the wheat, and the marrow of the bones."[1] Not long did he wait. On March 9, 1509, he became a Bachelor of Theology, with authority to lecture upon the text of the Holy Scriptures. The method employed was to read cursorily large portions of the books of the Bible, adding brief comments. According to Melanchthon, so experienced and discriminating a judge as Dr. Pollich declared, after several of these lectures, that Luther was destined to change the entire method of instruction then current in the schools. While engaged in this work, and before attaining the next degree in theology, that of a Sententiarist, or one authorised to lecture on the first two books of the Sentences of Peter Lombard, he was recalled, in the autumn of 1509, to Erfurt, where he entered upon the duties in the theological faculty assigned those who had taken the second degree. A spirited controversy was agitating the Saxon Augustinians concerning the policy of their Vicar-General, Staupitz, in which the sentiment at

[1] De Wette, 1 : 6.

Erfurt was, to say the least, not on his side. Possibly it was for this reason that Staupitz desired Luther to return to Erfurt. He had been making the effort to bring all the monasteries of the Augustinians in Germany within the so-called Reformed Congregation; but had met with the most obstinate resistance from the Nuremberg Augustinians and their adherents, who dreaded concessions relaxing the severity of the discipline.

Towards the close of September or beginning of October, 1511, Luther was sent, with John von Mecheln of the Netherlands, to Rome, in order to represent there the case of Staupitz; the eminent strictness of Luther's life, and his rigid observance of the rules of the Order, giving his advocacy of what was regarded the liberal side all the greater weight. By the end of February they had returned. The result of their mission can only be inferred from the fact that the project of Staupitz was abandoned, and that he retained the esteem of the monasteries that had made successful protest.

For Luther's training, this mission was far more important than it was for the end directly in view. He often declared that it was worth to him more than one hundred thousand guilders. Every theological student, Luther thought, ought to go to Rome if opportunity offered. Upon foot, from monastery to monastery, he and his companion went across the Alps, and, by the picturesque plain of Lombardy, passed into Italy. Everywhere his eyes were open, and important lessons for the future were learned. At Florence, the hospitals, adminis-

tered by Christian women, delighted him. The first sight of Rome inspired him with an enthusiasm similar to that with which the crusaders greeted Jerusalem. He fell upon the ground, and, with outstretched hands, exclaimed: "Hail, holy Rome!" Such marks of the ancient city as could still be found he was interested in tracing, and mentioned afterwards the Colosseum and the Baths of Diocletian, remarking that the houses of the modern city are built above the roofs of their predecessors. Still greater attraction for him did the ecclesiastical buildings have. With admiration he gazed upon St. Peter's, as an edifice which, although then very recent, he believed, in his simplicity, to be thirteen hundred years old.[1]

The chief attraction, however, was not that of sight-seeing, but the spiritual blessing that he hoped to receive. It was his purpose to make there an unreserved confession of all the sins that he had ever committed. Although he had made such confession twice before at Erfurt, he expected an especial blessing from the same confession, if made in the Holy City. Mass he celebrated a number of times, and actually wished that his parents were dead because, by such service at Rome, he thought that he would have been able to deliver them from purgatory. His son Paul told the story that has become familiar, as one that he had heard from him, concerning his toilsome ascent, upon his knees, of Pilate's stairway, and how the words, "The just shall live by faith," came to him as though uttered in tones of thunder.

[1] Erlangen, 62 : 438, 441.

To his German earnestness the frivolity of the Italian priests was a grievous offence. If he was shocked when, on reading Mass, a priest by his side urged him to hurry on, he was startled still more when, at the table, some Carmelites told the story as a matter of mirth, how the holy elements had been consecrated with the words: *Panis es, et panis manebis. Vinum es, et vinum manebis* ("Thou art bread, and bread shalt thou remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain"), thus turning the Holy Eucharist into a farce.[1] On his return journey, in the cathedral at Milan, he heard the Ambrosian, instead of the Gregorian Mass, and thus learned, for the first time, that within the Roman Church, and even in Italy, there was no absolute uniformity in the services.

Yet it was as a faithful son of the Church, and a zealous champion of the Papacy, that he returned to Germany. The criticism of many things that he saw and heard does not date from that period, but was made as, in later years, he recalled his experiences, and judged them in the new light that had dawned upon him.

On his return to Germany, Luther's home was for the second time made at Wittenberg. In the summer of 1512, he was appointed sub-prior of the monastery; in October of the same year, he became, on the 4th, a licentiate, and, on the 19th, a Doctor of Theology. His conduct of the mission to Rome had won for him universal esteem. Staupitz desired to assign him, at as early a date as

[1] Erlangen, 31 : 327.

possible, to a prominent position in the University. The rapid succession of degrees in October had this end in view. They aroused jealousy, however, at Erfurt, whose authorities were unwilling to relinquish their claim upon Luther, as an alumnus, and regarded the haste with which the degrees were conferred by Wittenberg as an unjustifiable attempt to anticipate the institution from which these degrees would otherwise shortly have come. To Luther the degrees came without his seeking them. The degree of doctor of theology, he realised, brought with it new duties and responsibilities. "Upon a Doctor," he says, "it is incumbent, according to his oath of office, to explain the Scriptures to all the world, and to teach every one."[1] Although he shrank from such publicity, and preferred the retirement and quiet studies of the monastery to the conflict and bustle of life, he could not dissuade Staupitz from his purpose. Ten years afterwards, he showed some of his friends a pear tree, under which he had pleaded with his superior to excuse him from this promotion, with its responsibilities. But Staupitz was inexorable, and Luther's vow of obedience compelled him to submit. The Elector, having heard him preach, showed his appreciation by providing all the expenses of the promotion. At the ceremony, his later antagonist, Dr. Carlstadt, presided and conferred the degree. His old schoolmate, Wenceslaus Link, at that time the prior of the Wittenberg monastery, participated prominently in the service. He received the hat and ring of the

[1] Erlangen, 39: 356.

doctorate; the latter may be seen to-day in the Ducal Museum at Brunswick.

At the age of twenty-nine, Luther found himself not only installed into a professorship of theology, with the right to lecture on all the branches of that science, but, also, with the main responsibility resting upon him for all the instruction that was to be given. From that time, the presence of Staupitz at Wittenberg was not frequent, while Trutvetter had been recalled to Erfurt, and neither Amsdorf nor Link could command the influence of a leader. In this position, he did not hesitate to break through all traditional modes of theological instruction. As he preferred to be called a "Doctor of the Holy Scriptures" to a "Doctor of Theology," so, instead of commenting upon the Scholastics, or attempting to formulate a theological system, he made the study of the Book of books the first and main part of all his teaching. When the statement is sometimes made, that he began the Reformation by the assertion of the Material Principle of Protestantism, and that its Formal Principle, viz., that of the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures, was an after-thought, this revolution, which, five years before the publication of his Theses, he introduced into the mode and order of a theological course, is overlooked. The Book of Psalms was selected, not only because, of all the books of the Bible, he was most familiar with it, but, especially, since, in the daily services, the words of the Psalmist were so deeply impressed upon the minds of his students, and pervaded to such an extent the entire life of the

Church, that it was of first importance that they who so frequently used the words, should understand what they mean. "From the sixth century to the sixteenth," says the late Dr. John Mason Neale, "it is scarcely an exaggeration to assert that a portion equal to two times the whole Psalter was hebdomadally recited." The Book of Psalms was always Luther's Prayer-Book. To this Melanchthon referred in his funeral address, stating that he devoted a fixed period of time almost every day to the private recitation of the Psalms, and had no patience with those who, either because of indolence, or pressing duties, were content to pray by the mere direction of the sighs of their heart to heaven.[1]

New also was his mode of lecturing. The Psalms in their Latin version were printed with wide margins, and with spaces between the lines for the insertion of annotations. The translation was compared constantly with the original, and an occasional reference was made to Augustine and Reuchlin. The traditional rule of the fourfold sense of Scripture was observed. The chief canon of interpretation, with which he starts, is that "all prophecies and prophets must be understood as referring to Christ, wherever there are no express words to the effect that something else is meant."[2] The Psalter being interpreted by his own experience of the grace of God, the exposition is occupied with such topics as the righteousness of faith, the merit of Christ, and the distinction between the Law and the Gospel.

[1] *C. R.*, 11 : 731.

[2] Walch, ix., 1476 *sq.*

However loyal still to the Church of Rome, and however zealous in performance of the duties of his Order, in these notes it can be seen that he had already thoroughly assimilated the principles that were hereafter to determine his course. Still more significant than its presentation of doctrine is the omission of much upon which a mediæval writer would have been particularly explicit. Nor must it be thought that all this was, at the time, unnoticed. Matthesius tells us that his teaching was condemned as heretical by some both in his own and in other orders, who were prevented from preferring charges by their inability to meet his arguments.

After completing his exposition of the Psalms in 1516, he next made the Epistle to the Romans the basis of his instruction. Deterred from this for a while by his inadequate knowledge of Greek, he applied himself with the greatest diligence to the study of that language, and found an important assistant and adviser in John Lange, prior of the monastery at Erfurt. The lectures on Romans are not extant. In subsequent comments on the Psalms, he speaks of the insight into their meaning given him by his preparations for these lectures on Romans. Paul is the best interpreter of David. Then followed a series on Galatians, re-elaborated in 1519, comments on Hebrews, based on Chrysostom, and on Titus. As to the impression made by these lectures, Melanchthon writes:

"After a long and dark night the light of new doctrine seemed to dawn. He showed the distinction be-

JOHANNES COCHLÄUS. EOBANUS HESSUS.

JOHANNES REUCHLINUS.

HANS SACHS. CONRAD CELTES.

FROM ENGRAVING IN KREUSSLER'S "ANDENKEN IN MÜNZEN."

tween the Law and the Gospel, and refuted the then prevalent error that, by their own works, men merit the forgiveness of sins, and, by their observance of discipline, are righteous before God. Recalling the minds of men to the Son of God, and, like the Baptist, pointing to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world, he declared that sins are remitted freely, on account of the Son of God, and that this benefit is to be received by faith. Other portions of the Church's doctrine were made clear. These beginnings of still better things gave him great influence, especially since his life corresponded with his speech, and his words seemed to spring, not from his lips, but from his heart."[1]

The writer whom Luther read during this period, next to Augustine, if not to an even greater extent, was John Tauler. The plain and simple language, the popular style, the directness, the practical point, and the devotional fervor of his sermons would, of themselves, have attracted Luther. But the complete renunciation of self, the denial of man's merits, the clear and forcible presentation of the work and merits of Christ, and the immediate access of the believing child of God through Christ to his Father, rendered his writings peculiarly grateful. The spiritual priesthood of believers is clearly presented in Tauler, and only by inference in Augustine. In 1516 he wrote to Spalatin: "If you take any pleasure in reading the ancient and pure theology in the German language, read the sermons of John Tauler. For neither in the Latin, nor the German language, have I found purer and more wholesome theology,

[1] *C. R.*, 6 : 160 *sq.*

nor any that so agrees with the Gospel."[1] At another time: "Although he is unknown to theologians in the schools, nevertheless I know that I have found more pure divine doctrine therein than I have found or can be found in all the books of the Scholastics at all universities." "Since the time of the Apostles, scarcely any writer like him has been born."[2] One who would thoroughly understand Luther must, therefore, read Tauler. A few extracts from Tauler will suggest how important such study must prove.

"The regenerate and renewed are not concerned as to whether their works be regarded great or small, glorious or despised. For they ever look only to the will of God and to the duties of the office they are under obligation to fulfil. Because of such faith, all their works, even the most trifling and despised, are in heaven great and glorious. They look not as to whether they may be assigned a higher or lower station; for in all things they desire nothing but the sole will and pleasure of God."[3]

"Is it credible that any human heart should be so hardened as not to melt with joy and love, on hearing that the Creator of all things, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, took upon Himself our nature, and was subject to death and suffering, and that the Lord of all lords became the servant and slave of all; the Eternal Son of God, our Bridegroom; the Judge of all men and angels, our elder brother? With all His heavenly treasures and

[1] De Wette, 1: 46. *Cf. ib.*, 34, 102; also Walch, xviii., 359.

[2] Walch, xxi., 567.

[3] *Sermons*, with an Introduction by Dr. Philip Jacob Spener, Frankfort-on-the-Main and Leipzig, 1703. On Epistle for First Sunday in Advent.

gifts, He has made Himself our own. All this He has given as a treasure to us, mortal men, unrighteous sinners, who are only earth and dust."

"Since He is in us, and the human nature, which He has assumed of us, has been united into one Person with His own Almighty Godhead, there is in Him nothing whereof we cannot partake. Since this human nature has been assumed by the Eternal Son of God into the unity of His Person, the believing man is a child and son of God, with Christ, the Eternal Son of the Father."[1]

"How is it that men of to-day are so blinded that they are always trying to do so much, and are ever undertaking new enterprises, as though they had to support God in heaven? But all this they do of themselves, *i. e.*, according to their own will and the impulse of their nature, and they have especial pleasure in themselves."[2]

"Prayer is nothing but the going of the heart to God. Where we should pray the Lord Himself teaches when He says, 'in spirit.' No one should imagine that that is a true prayer when one mumbles many outward words and runs over many psalms."[3]

The theologian notices here that, with all his spirituality, Tauler's doctrine of Justification differs from that of Luther in that it lays more stress upon "Christ in us" than upon "Christ for us." Neither was Luther able to rest in that purely passive enjoyment of the grace of God, which was the ideal life of Mysticism; but the more he experienced this grace, the more it impelled him to energetic

[1] *Sermons.* On Gospel for First Sunday in Advent.

[2] *Ib.* On Judica Sunday.

[3] *Ib.* On Fifth Sunday p. Trinity.

activity within the world. From the mystics, however, he learned to submit patiently to the will of God, to abide by his calling, and to await God's time and call for the conflicts of life.

A book which he had found, without title or name of author, but which he believed to have been written by Tauler, as it contained an epitome of his theology, he published, with a preface, in 1516, under the title, *What the Old and the New Man Are.* Two years later, having found the entire work, of which the volume he had published had been only a fragment, he issued it with a new title, *A German Theology concerning the Right Knowledge of How Adam should Die and Christ Rise within Us.* According to a discovery of the present century, the real author was a priest of Frankfort-on-the-Main, and a member of the mystical society of "The Friends of God," a churchly communion, in antagonism with the rationalistic "Brethren of the Free Spirit." To English readers of to-day the book is known from the translation of Miss Winkworth under the title *Theologia Germanica*, with an introduction by Canon Kingsley.

The foundation of his distinction as a preacher was laid about this time. In an old dilapidated frame building, thirty by twenty feet in size, held together by props, and daubed with clay, standing within the foundation of the walls of the new monastery that had been begun, but whose erection had been temporarily suspended, and from a pulpit, constructed of rough boards, raised three feet above the ground, the greatest preacher of modern times

preached his first sermon. Tradition tells of his extreme reluctance to preach, and that, when Staupitz first suggested it, he answered that it was no light matter to preach to the people in God's stead. At first he took his turn as one of the preachers of the monastery; then his services were in demand as a supply. The pastor of the parochial church, or *Stadt Kirche*, at Wittenberg, Simon Heinse of Brueck, brother of Dr. George Brueck, afterwards Chancellor of Saxony, being in delicate health, Luther was called in to take his place. What at first was only a temporary expedient became a fixed arrangement when, in 1515, he received from the town council a regular call, as a preacher, to supply all otherwise unprovided-for appointments in that church. The forty sermons, or extracts of them, that remain, lack the force and fire and popularity of those that followed. They are more scholastic in their method, and abound in quotations from Church writers. But they give promise of the future. The spirit struggles energetically to break through the bonds by which it is still fettered. He speaks out freely his convictions concerning the word of God that he treats, but he has in view the clear statement of truth rather than its practical adaptation and application to his hearers. Allowance must be made for the fact that we have only his notes, written in Latin, and not in the vernacular in which they were delivered in a more direct and popular form. However this may be, his earnestness, and ardour, and clearness of statement won a hearing, and drew all classes to his preaching.

The story is told that Duke George of Saxony, early in 1517, had applied to Staupitz for some one to preach in the chapel of the castle at Dresden, and that, when Luther was sent, he preached with such power that, at the table after the sermon, while one of the lady attendants of the Duchess declared, if she could only hear another sermon like that, she would die in peace, the Duke said that he would be willing to give a large sum of money not to have heard it. In the sermon he had plainly shown that no one who hears God's word with joy should doubt concerning his salvation; for such person must be a true follower of Christ, and one of the elect. Then he dwelt upon the truth that, when its consideration is begun with the doctrine concerning Christ, the article of predestination affords the very highest consolation. Within a month the devout hearer of the sermon had departed this life.

Both for his own edification and for that of the people he completed early in 1517, and published the same year, a brief explanation of the seven penitential Psalms. This exposition, he writes, was prepared, not for cultured Nurembergers, but for coarse Saxons, to whom Christian doctrine could not be explained in too simple words.

Administrative duties, committed to him by his Order, occasioned frequent interruptions of his professorial and literary labours. Appointed vicar in May, 1515, he was charged with the oversight of eleven monasteries, viz.: those at Wittenberg, Dresden, Herzberg, Gotha, Salza, Nordhausen, Sangerhausen, Erfurt, Magdeburg, Neustadt, and Eisleben.

It was his duty, by means of visitations and frequent correspondence, to learn of the condition and decide concerning the necessities of each monastery and its inmates. The already thoroughly occupied professor of theology was thus called to a truly pastoral care of an extensive and difficult field. His letters testify to the fact that, while in this position he had to settle troublesome quarrels and misunderstandings, and had often to inquire concerning very material things, as the cost of clothing, and the amount of beer, wine, bread, and meat consumed, and even had to compute, according to a money standard, the damage that a storm had done the vineyards of the Order, nevertheless, the main thought was the spiritual interest of those with whom he had to deal. Every one in doubts and perplexities, like those which had agitated him, he seeks to give the full benefit of his experience.

"Dear brother," he writes to one, "learn Christ and Him crucified. Learn to despair of thyself, and to say to Him: 'Thou, Lord Jesus, art my righteousness; but I am Thy sin. Thou hast assumed what was mine, and given me what was Thine. Thou hast assumed what Thou wast not, and hast given me what I was not.' Beware of aspiring to such purity as to be unwilling to seem to be, aye, even to be a sinner. For it is only in sinners that Christ dwells; for He descended from Heaven, where He dwells among the righteous, in order that He might dwell among sinners. If, by our labours and afflictions, we could attain peace of conscience, why, then, did Christ die? If you firmly believe this, as you ought (for he who believes it not is accursed), then re-

ceive your uninstructed and still erring brethren and patiently bear with them. Make their sins yours, and if you have anything good, grant it to them." [1]

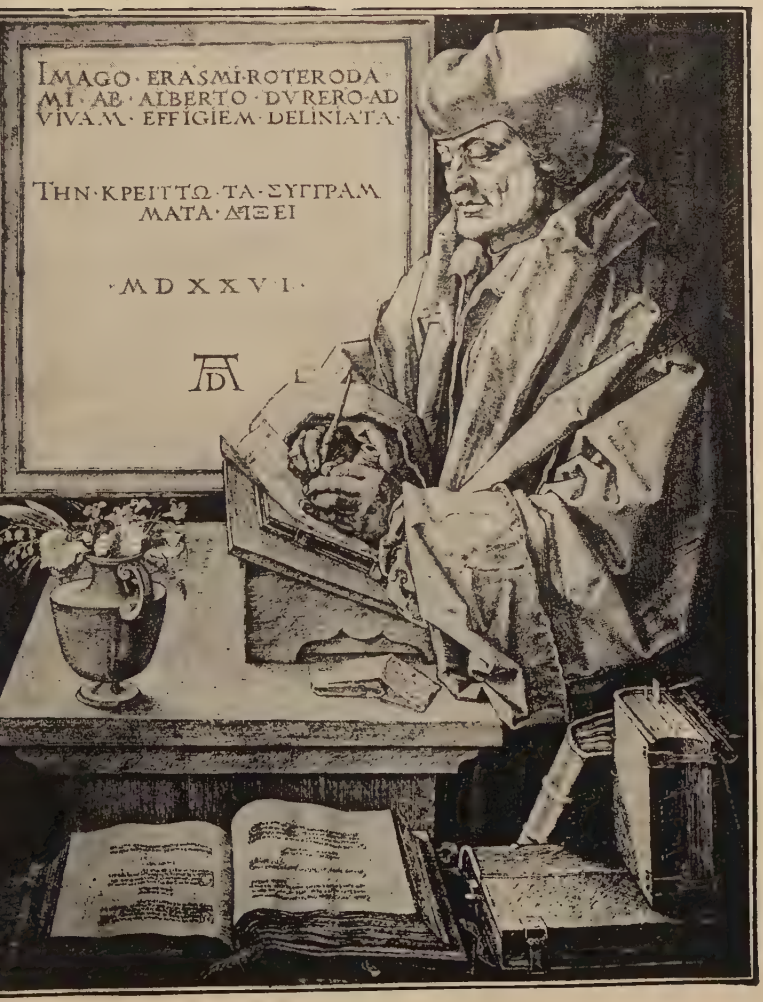
One of the Dresden monks having fled in disgrace to Mayence, Luther writes to the prior at the latter place to send the monk either back to Dresden, or to him at Wittenberg, and then adds:

"That offences come I know is necessary; the wonder is that man rises and stands. Peter fell, that he might know himself to be a man; to-day the cedars of Lebanon, which touch the heavens with their heads, are falling. Even an angel (a wonder surpassing all wonders) fell in Heaven, and Adam in Paradise. What wonder then if a reed be moved by the wind, and the smoking flax be quenched!" [2]

To Michael Dressel, prior in Neustadt, he writes:

"You are seeking peace, but in the reverse order; for you are seeking it as the world, and not as Christ gives. Do you not know, good father, that God is wonderful in His people, just because He has placed His peace in the midst of no peace. Peace, therefore, is not to be found with the man whom no one disturbs, for this is the peace of the world, but with him whom all men and all things disturb, and who, nevertheless, calmly and joyfully bears all things. With Israel, you are saying: 'Peace, peace'; and there is no peace. Say rather, with Christ: 'Cross, cross'; and there is no cross. For the cross ceases to be a cross as soon as you can joyfully exclaim: 'Blessed Cross, among all trees there is none like thee.'" [3]

[1] De Wette, 1: 17. [2] *Ib.*, 20. [3] *Ib.*, 27.



ERASMUS.

FROM A COPPER ENGRAVING BY ALBERT DÜRER.

The above is a fair specimen of the correspondence that occupied, as he declares, the most of his time. But a storm was approaching. Current methods and authorities could not be ignored and discarded in silence. The time came when he was compelled to be their critic. Luther's criticism was the direct result of his positive statement of doctrine. He had no love of criticism and controversy for their own sake. The theology of the Scholastics was the result of the effort to force the contents of Revelation into the moulds of thought of the Aristotelian philosophy. In course of time Aristotle afforded not only the form, but much of the material of the definitions and principles of these writers. As Luther progressed, he was indignant at finding that most of his difficulties and perplexities had arisen from this source; the teaching of the Church had been corrupted by a rationalism, in which Aristotle had been permitted to sit in judgment on Christ and the Apostles. Hence, in 1516, he indignantly declared that if Aristotle had not been flesh, he would not hesitate to affirm that he was the very devil; and that it was a great cross to him that so much time was wasted in the universities in studying this writer." [1]

Appreciating the great impulse that Erasmus had given to the study of the Bible, by the new interest that he had enkindled not only for the study of the Greek language, but also of the text of the New Testament, and sympathising with his exposure of the errors of monks and priests, he was deeply dis-

[1] To Lange, De Wette, 1: 15.

appointed to find this great teacher, after all, missing the central point of the discussion, and reiterating the platitudes of the Aristotelians. Erasmus, he thought, would have done far better if he had followed Augustine rather than Jerome as his master. What particularly grieved him was that Erasmus had misunderstood the argument of the Epistle to the Romans by interpreting the "deeds of the law," to which Paul denies justifying power, as referring to the ceremonial, and not the moral law.

To overthrow the foundation on which this entire conception of theology rested, he had in preparation, in 1516, a commentary on the First Book of Aristotle's Physics. While nothing of this work has reached us, its results were undoubtedly embodied in a series of Ninety-seven Theses concerning the Scholastic Theology, which he prepared for a discussion to be held under his presidency, on September 4, 1517. These theses were an arraignment of the scholastic theology for its departures from the teachings of Augustine concerning the bondage of the will in spiritual things, and the absolute need of God's grace, from beginning to end, in man's return to God. The natural man, they declare, is a bad tree, that cannot bear good fruit; he can neither do nor will to do aught but evil. Man, by his natural powers, cannot conform to a correct standard, or wish that God be God, but, instead of being able to love God above all things, wants self to be God, and, therefore, God not to be God. Natural virtues, as, *e. g.*, those belonging to friendship, come from prevenient grace. The only preparation for grace is

God's election. On man's part, nothing but indisposition precedes grace. Not by doing righteous deeds do we become righteous, but only when we become righteous do righteous deeds result. All citations from Aristotle must be ruled out; since no one becomes a theologian until he abandons Aristotle.[1]

In the discussion and defence of these theses, Francis Guenther of Nordhausen received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity "by the unanimous vote of the Faculty." Among all at Wittenberg, especially the younger theologians, there was now general sympathy with this break through the trammels whereby all theological progress had hitherto been restrained. At first, Carlstadt and Lupinus had withstood the movement; but the former was soon converted from a zealous Thomist into an ardent friend and champion of Luther's position. A thoughtful present of a set of Augustine's works to Amsdorf was followed by his early accession to the ranks of those who were advocating this cause.

At Erfurt there was some personal hostility to Luther because he had received his degree elsewhere than from his Alma Mater. He writes with much concern as to the probability of his two former instructors, Trutvetter and Arnoldi, accepting his position. The strength of Luther at Erfurt was in the monastery, of which his intimate friend, John Lange, was prior. At Nuremberg his former colleague, Christopher Scheurl, who had become legal

[1] *Opera varii argumenti* (Erlangen), subsequently referred to as *Op. var. arg.*, i., 315 *sqq.*; Weimar, i., 221 *sqq.*

counsel to the city, and was a leading member of the literary circle for which the place was distinguished, was in full sympathy and frequent correspondence with Luther, while Wenceslaus Link, another intimate friend, had become a prominent preacher there. After reading the Theses of September 4, 1517, Scheurl wrote that he was convinced that a great change was about taking place in theological studies, so that one could become a theologian without either Aristotle or Plato. At the court of the Elector Frederick was the chaplain and private secretary, George Spalatin, a fellow-student of Luther at Erfurt, whose acquaintance had ripened into intimacy, when he attended the University of Wittenberg in 1511, in order to supervise the studies of the young Duke of Brunswick, and who had now become an enthusiastic advocate of the revived Augustinianism.

All through these efforts, and this period of the maturing of his convictions, Luther never dreamt of breaking with the Church, or occasioning a serious conflict within it. So scrupulous was he in the observance of every ecclesiastical requirement that he afterwards told how, even at this late date, when his engagements were so numerous as to interfere with his observance of the canonical hours, he once shut himself up in his cell on Sunday, in order to make up the number of prayers that he had lost during the pressing labours of the preceding week.

BOOK II

THE PROTESTANT

1517–1522

LUTHER AS ELIAS (MAL. IV., 5).

CHAPTER I

THE SALE OF INDULGENCES; AND THE XCV THESES

THE life of Luther is marked by sudden and unlooked-for events; such were his entrance into the monastery, his doctorate of theology, and his marriage. Such, also, were the Ninety-five Theses of October 31, 1517, and their immediate effect. They were the outcome of his pastoral fidelity to the souls with whom he had to deal in the confessional. What was intended as a matter of discussion for a very limited circle of the learned, with a view to an early remedy for an abuse of whose extent he had at the moment no conception, soon became the property of Christendom, and revolutionised the social and political, as well as the religious world of Europe. The day on which the Theses were published is the birthday of the Protestant Reformation.

Luther was himself unconscious of what his protest implied. His criticism was called forth, not by

papal indulgences in themselves, but what he had found to be their abuse in a specific case falling under his pastoral jurisdiction. The conception of indulgences then prevalent had been a gradual growth. The prerequisites to absolution, such as fasts, alms, and pilgrimages, which the Church had once demanded only as external pledges of the sincerity of penitents making confession, just as to-day a consistent Christian life for a considerable period is often required among Protestants before one separated for gross sin is restored to full communion, were regarded in course of time as an essential part of the penitence itself. What at first had the place only of evidence of a change of heart, at last had attained the rank of a means whereby such change was effected. The rendering of the satisfactions, appointed by the priest to whom the confession was made, became an indispensable condition for deliverance from the consequences of sin. According to the current teaching, sin brought guilt and punishment. In baptism the guilt and punishment of original sin were remitted. The guilt of each actual sin, if confessed with true sorrow of heart, was remitted; but, while the penitent was absolved from the guilt, he was not from all the punishment. In virtue of the merits of Christ, eternal was commuted to temporal punishment; penalties beyond man's power were, by the priestly absolution, brought within the reach of man's ability to make for them satisfaction. Man escapes Hell, but he does not, by Christ's atonement, enter Heaven. In order to escape the temporal punishments of sin, satisfactions,

such as prayers, fasts, alms, prescribed by the confessor, must be rendered. Since, therefore, every sin, to have its penalties removed, must be known and grieved over and confessed, and have its consequences offset by penances appointed by the Church; and since in this life the greater number of offences pass the scrutiny of even the most spiritually-minded, Purgatory remains as the realm in which all these unsatisfied sins of contrite children of God meet their temporal punishment. From its fires only an indulgence could deliver. The saints, it was taught, had acquired, by their works of supererogation, a fund of superfluous merits, and these merits could be transferred by the Church. The making of satisfactions for crimes, by means of fines, customary in German law, obtruded itself in course of time into the practice of the sale of indulgences to those contributing to approved Church funds. In treating of Luther's protest, it should always be explicitly taught that the Church, as such, had not declared that, by indulgences, the guilt of sin or its eternal punishments were remitted, but only that exemption from Purgatory was provided for all who, by true contrition and confession, had been absolved of guilt. But, in the minds of worldly and avaricious venders of indulgences, such distinctions were not made. The guilt of sin was overlooked and only its punishments kept in mind, while indulgences from the penalties of sins repented of were soon confounded with indulgences from the penalties of sins yet to be committed, or, in other words, with purchased permission to commit sin. Indulgences were

distinguished as general and particular, the latter referring solely to individual dioceses: and as plenary and incomplete, according as the indulgence pertained to the entire burden of penalties, or was limited to the abbreviation of the time of punishment.

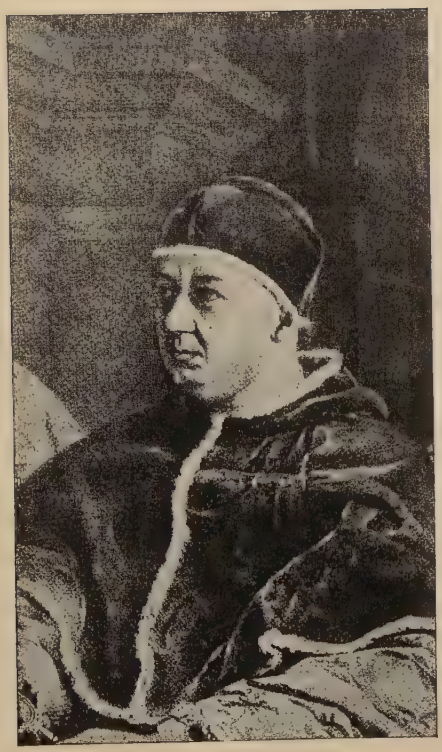
Thus a means was at hand whereby the money often sorely needed, as the Church or its dignitaries became secularised, could be most readily raised. The Turkish invasion formed the occasion for numerous resorts to this convenient expedient. Such indulgences were authorised by the Council of Basel of 1433, and the decrees of Pope Nicholas V. in 1450 and 1451, and were endorsed by the German Estates in 1471 as the best means of raising funds for carrying on war against the Turks. The completion of St. Peter's at Rome, and his own luxurious habits, induced Pope Leo X., in 1516, to resort to the trade in indulgences upon a more extensive scale than had heretofore been attempted. To prosecute the work in Germany, three commissioners were appointed, viz.: Dr. John Angelus Archimbold, the Franciscan General Christopher de Forli, and Albrecht, Margrave of Brandenburg, and Archbishop of Magdeburg and Mayence. The last is to us of particular interest, since Saxony was a portion of the territory assigned him. A young man of only twenty-seven years, his position as Archbishop, which he had filled already for four years, and as Electoral Prince and Imperial Chancellor, made him the most prominent and influential figure in Germany. A cultivated scholar, and one of the leaders of the New Learning, he was the intimate friend of

Erasmus, and his praises had been celebrated in verse by Ulrich von Hutten. Thus the two men, who in Italy and Germany were known as the leaders of the Renaissance, Leo and Albrecht, show by their prominence in this traffic, that a more sturdy force than that of the revival of literature was needed to produce the Reformation.

Living far beyond his income, and pressed severely by the Augsburg bankers, the Fuggers, for the payment of loans, of which at least twenty, and some say thirty thousand guldens had gone to the purchase of the pallium of an archbishop, Albrecht eagerly engaged in the undertaking for one half of the receipts. Thirty years later he died, still a debtor to the Fuggers.

In September, 1517, Albrecht called to his aid, as sub-commissioner, the Dominican, John Tetzel, who had served the preceding year under Archimbold. Tetzel (originally Tietze) was a native of Leipzig, of about sixty years of age, of imposing presence and distinguished gifts of popular oratory that had been devoted for nearly half a generation to the sale of indulgences. The traffic had developed so as to demand the services of specialists. Even though we should concede the claims of the writers of the Roman Catholic Church, that contemporary Protestant authorities have done him injustice in the charges that, in 1512, he had been condemned to death, at Innsbruck, for adultery, but had been saved at the intercession of the Elector of Saxony, and that he offered indulgences without the conditions of contrition and confession, their own admissions concern-

ing the nature of his work and preaching demonstrate the necessity for an earnest protest against his activity. By sheer audacity he had overborne the resistance that had heretofore been evoked by his assumptions, and had gained from the Emperor Maximilian the recall of his edict against indulgences, and the substitution of an express authorisation. Whithersoever he went, therefore, he appeared as the representative of both State and Church, for, beside his position of commissioner, he had the rank of Inquisitor-General. The bells of the towns and cities announced his approach; the officials of the place, the citizens, even the school-children, went in procession to meet him. A red cross, on which the coat of arms of the Pope was emblazoned, preceded him. On a velvet cushion his papal commission was displayed. Entering a church, the red cross was raised in front of the high altar, and the indulgence chest placed beside it. Sermons were preached by the commissioner or his deputies, extolling the worth of indulgences, and urging their purchase. The terrors of the hearers were excited by graphic pictures of the seven years' penalty reserved in Purgatory for every mortal sin, and of the remedy offered at so small a cost in the letters that were then to be purchased. The indulgence sellers were reported as bidding the people worship the red cross as the holy of holies; as declaring that indulgences were more efficacious than baptism, and restored the innocency that had been lost in Adam; as proclaiming that a commissioner of indulgences saved more souls than Peter; and



LEO X.

AFTER THE PICTURE BY RAPHAEL IN THE PITTI GALLERY, FLORENCE.

that as soon as the penny sounded in the chest, the soul was delivered from Purgatory. Indulgences would avail for justification and salvation, even for him who had violated the mother of God!

"Lo! Heaven is open. When will you enter, if not now? Oh senseless men, who do not appreciate such a shedding forth of grace! How hard-hearted! For twelve pennies you can deliver your father, and, nevertheless, you are so ungrateful as not to relieve him in his distress. At the last judgment, I am free; but you are responsible. I tell you, that if you have but one garment, you should part with it, rather than fail of such grace."[1]

Gratuitous indulgences were granted the poor, upon the assurance of payment from the first money they could obtain. Wives were encouraged to purchase without the knowledge of their husbands.

Numerous incidents of Tetzel's traffic are to be read, from which we select one of especial interest, because relating to one of Luther's most trusted friends and co-labourers in later years. Frederick Myconius resided at Annaberg during Tetzel's earlier activity, when for two years he preached indulgences daily. At last a time came when he announced that the cross was to be removed and the gates of Heaven closed forever. "Now," he exclaimed, "is the acceptable time; now is the day of salvation." Plenary indulgences were offered at a reduced rate, with the generous codicil: *Pauperibus*

[1] One out of numerous examples, most of them confirmed by documentary proofs, in Loescher. This passage is in i., 420 *sq.*

gratis propter Deum ("To the poor, gratuitously, for God's sake"). Myconius, who had been better taught concerning the free grace of God in Christ than most of the youth of his time, at the last moment asked for an indulgence upon the ground of his poverty, and when he persisted, after many refusals, constantly urging: "To the poor, it is given gratuitously, for God's sake," the money was placed in his hands by the deputies, who could not escape his importunity, and who, at the same time, did not wish to admit a precedent that threatened so seriously to diminish the receipts. But Myconius had the courage to reject the offer, pleading that he asked for the indulgence gratuitously, or not at all.[1]

During his visitation of the cloisters, in the spring of 1516, Luther had heard of Tetzel's proceedings, and, in a sermon on the Tenth Sunday after Trinity, had taken occasion to give a warning. How gradually he reached his conclusions is seen from the fact that, in this sermon, he rejects not indulgences, but their abuse. What should be regarded with all reverence, he says, has become a horrid means of pampering avarice, since it is not the salvation of souls, but solely pecuniary profit that is in view. The people are taught not concerning the forgiveness of sins, but only concerning the remission of the penances, as though when these be paid, the soul immediately flies to Heaven. "Besides, there is no foundation for the doctrine that, by such in-

[1] Loescher's *Vollständige Reformationis Acta*, Leipzig, 1720, i., 405, gives the account written by Myconius in 1546. *Cf.* Adam's *Vitæ Theologorum*, p. 12.

dulgences, souls are redeemed from Purgatory. For the Pope is cruel if he do not grant poor souls gratuitously what can be granted on the payment of money needed by the Church." If no one can be certain whether he be himself sufficiently contrite and have confessed sufficiently, much less can he be so as to others. How, then, can he assert that the soul of one for whom indulgences have been procured is immediately released from Purgatory? The sermon ends with an appeal against treating indulgences so that they administer only to cherishing spiritual security and indifference.[1]

In a sermon, preached just one year before his theses that provoked the crisis, viz., on October 31, 1516, Luther is, if possible, still more explicit. He speaks of the seducers who are misleading the people, and announces that the "parade of indulgences is at the very doors." The intention of the Pope is justified; but the charge is made that his words have been misinterpreted. Revising the definition of penitence, he distributes it into two parts, viz., of the sign and of the thing. Penitence of the thing, *i. e.*, actual penitence, is inner penitence of the heart, and is the only true penitence. That of the sign is the exterior penitence, occurring frequently when the interior is feigned, and has two parts, confession and satisfaction.

"To jurists I refer the proof as to where confession and satisfaction, as now used, are commanded by Divine

[1] Weimar edition of Luther's works (subsequently referred to as Weimar), i., 65–69; *Op. var. arg.*, i., 101–104.

law ; for the satisfaction prescribed by John (Luke iii.) belongs to the entire Christian life. Indulgences imply that there has been true contrition ; but remove nothing except impositions of purely private significance. Hence it is to be feared that indulgences conspire against inner penitence. One who is truly penitent wants, if possible, every creature to see and hate his sin, and he is ready to be trodden under foot by all. He seeks not for indulgences and remissions of penalties, but for exactions of penalties."[1]

In a sermon of February 24, 1517, he grows in severity. Indulgences, he declares, are teaching the people to dread the punishment of sin, instead of sin itself. If it were not to escape the punishment for sin, no one would care about indulgences, even if offered gratuitously. Such punishment should rather be sought for; the people should be exhorted to embrace the cross. He ends with the words: "O the dangers of our times! O ye slumbering priests! O darkness denser than that of Egypt! How secure are we in these extreme evils!"[2]

The Elector Frederick, although in a far less offensive way, had provided for the sale of indulgences in connection with visits to the relics he had gathered in 1493 in the Holy Land, as a partial source of revenue for the Castle Church and cloister. The 5005 relics that were treasured in the Castle Church were said to give one hundred days' indulgence each, if properly worshipped, *i. e.*, 1371 years and 85 days, if all were thus used. These vigorous

[1] Weimar, i., 94–99 ; *Op. var. arg.*, i., 177–184.

[2] Weimar, i., 138–141.

words of Luther, Frederick therefore regarded as, at least, indiscreet. But as Tetzel drew near Wittenberg, attracting large numbers of its inhabitants to his preaching, and as some over whom Luther had spiritual jurisdiction sought to excuse themselves from worshipping the relics by the presentation of letters, which they had procured at Jueterbock and Zerbst, he could not, by silence, connive at what would have carried with it the violation of his fidelity as a spiritual guide and of his oath as a Doctor of the Holy Scriptures. Ignorant of the pecuniary interest of the Archbishop of Magdeburg in the sale, Luther, in his simplicity, appealed to Albrecht to prohibit Tetzel's further activity; and, when his letter remained unanswered, a second appeal was made to his bishop, viz., of Brandenburg, by whom he was warned of the danger of arraying himself against the Pope. But the widespread dissatisfaction with Tetzel's extravagances expressed itself in frequent complaints and appeals from friends and others who sought his advice. Among them was his spiritual father, Staupitz. The matter could not rest until some solution of the problem would be reached. There was an expectation that a crisis was approaching, but no one could tell when or where it would come.

On the night of October 30, 1517, according to Spalatin, the Elector tarried at Schweinitz, and in the morning of the next day committed to writing an account of a dream, which he said he could never forget, even though he were to live a thousand years. He had seen a monk, a son of the

Apostle Paul, and commissioned as a special messenger from Heaven, writing upon the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, in letters so large that they could be read at Schweinitz, twelve miles away to the east, and with a goose quill one hundred years old, of such length that it reached Rome, piercing first the ear of a lion, that roared with pain, and then striking the triple crown of the Pope, so that it almost fell from his head. This pen was readily applied, after the Reformation began, to John Hus, whose name means "a goose," and who had suffered martyrdom about one hundred years before. Although attested by the Elector's own private secretary, the correspondence with facts is so close that it has brought this story into discredit. Why may it not have been the product of the "Wise" Elector's waking thoughts concerning the impending conflict, and the part that one of his most distinguished subjects was to bear in it?

The signal was at last given. The circumstances were not such as Luther had chosen. Nothing sensational marked the hour. Notwithstanding his extraordinary popular gifts, he was no agitator, and did not move more rapidly than Providence opened clearly the way. On Fridays the theologians at Wittenberg were accustomed, in regular order, to conduct theological discussions, and to prepare and post up in advance the theses which, on a given date, they were ready to discuss. Sometimes circulated among scholars in other universities, in order to give the discussion still greater publicity, the form of a placard was adopted, that this purpose

might be served. The current statement, that the eve of All Saints' Day was chosen in order to attract greater attention to the subject, is not borne out by the facts. The document which Luther prepared and that at once gained a universal hearing, was written not in the German, but in the Latin language. It was not for the people, but for the consideration of scholars and students. Nor had it in view any circle beyond that at Wittenberg ; until recently, it has been universally held that the Theses were posted up in Luther's manuscript. Intimate friends who afterwards expressed surprise that Luther should have omitted them in the distribution, were informed that it was neither his intention nor his wish that the Theses should be noticed, except by a very few at Wittenberg, with whom he wanted to have a comparison of views, and by a limited number elsewhere whose written criticisms he invited.

It was, according to Melanchthon, about noon, when the Theses were attached to the door of the Castle Church, whether by Luther himself or by someone commissioned for the work we are not informed. As the church was supported largely from the revenue of indulgences, and All Saints' Day was the anniversary of its consecration, the eve of the festival seems to have been aptly chosen, just as one year before Luther had selected the same festival for a sermon on the same subject. The responsibility rested upon him alone, and he took counsel with none of his intimate friends. Nevertheless, appreciating the seriousness of the step he had taken, be-

fore he went to rest that night, he promptly informed his archbishop of the fact, transmitting, with a most humble letter, a copy of the Theses, as well as of the sermon preached that evening.

The other theses are only an expansion of the thought with which the whole series begins. "When our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, says, 'Repent,' He means that the entire life of believers should be a repentance." In these words, he appeals from the scholastic to the Scriptural meaning of the expression rendered in the Vulgate translation of Matthew iii., 2: "*Pœnitentiam agite.*" These words of John the Baptist, although generally interpreted, "Do penance," meant more than any act or series of satisfactions, and comprised a complete revolution of thought, heart, mind, and will, that can never be ended while life lasts. Be the explanation of the Church teachers what it may, the great question to be answered is: "What does the Lord Jesus say?" From the obligation to such duty no one could be discharged. There is no price that could be paid for a release. Thus the root of the practice of indulgences is cut at one blow, the inevitable conclusion being that of the second thesis: "This word," viz., of the Lord Jesus, "cannot be understood of sacramental penance, *i. e.*, of confession and satisfaction as celebrated by the ministry of priests." The fallacy of the sale of papal indulgences is exposed by the statement that the Pope can remit no penalties except those which he has himself imposed, and hence that he is powerless with respect to any penalties due Divine justice. Priests

have no authority to reserve some penalties for Purgatory. Death brings immunity from all canonical requirements, and the Pope, therefore, can remit no penalty to souls in Purgatory. If the Pope have the power to deliver souls from Purgatory, why does he not exercise it out of Christian love, instead of demanding money with which to build a church? Or why does he not, from his enormous wealth, buy the release of souls in torment? Notice is taken of various extravagant statements that have accompanied the preaching of indulgences. Eternal punishment is declared to be the lot of those who rely upon letters of indulgence for their salvation. The truly contrite and believing are proclaimed as needing no resort to such an expedient. "Every Christian, truly contrite, has full remission from both punishment and guilt, even without letters of indulgence." "Every true Christian, whether alive or dead, has participation in all the blessings of Christ and the Church, granted him by God, even without letters of indulgence." The Pope is regarded as esteeming works of mercy far more highly than the diversion of money from such purpose to that of this trade. The man who, neglecting the appeal of those in actual need, devotes his means to the purchase of indulgences, is declared to incur the anger of God. The treasures of Christ and the saints belong to Christians before and without any indulgences. The true treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the grace and glory of God. "Cursed be he who speaks against the truth of Apostolical indulgences," *i. e.*, against the Gospel. "Blessed is

he who opposes the lust and licence of the words of a preacher of indulgences."[1]

In Latin, the English words "Repentance" and "Penance" are designated by the one term, "*Pœnitentia.*" Luther's effort, in the Theses, is to separate the two conceptions. "Repentance," in the biblical sense, is the inner dissatisfaction with self, on account of sin, combined with the sincere purpose to conform both the inner and outward life to the Divine will. But "Penances," which Luther is not yet ready to entirely repudiate, refer altogether to certain external pledges of the sincerity of repentance, which, in his opinion, the Church could require, as a matter of discipline and order, but on no other grounds. From such ecclesiastical appointments the Pope could give a release, but from no penalties pertaining to the life beyond. Neither could the Pope release any one from works of Christian love, even though the means so diverted were applied to ecclesiastical purposes.

That night, in the chapel of the Augustinian cloister, he preached a trenchant sermon, presenting the same subject in German, and in a less technical and more popular form. The outline, as afterwards published, gives evidently only notes prepared beforehand. Among other things, it declares that the analysis of the elements of "repentance" by Thomas Aquinas and his followers, although not found in Scripture, might be conceded. Neverthe-

[1] Theses in *Op. var. arg.*, i., 285 *sqq.*; Weimar, i., 229 *sqq.*; Loescher, i., 438 *sqq.* English translation in Wace and Buchheim's *First Principles of the Reformation*, pp. 6–14.

less these teachers were careful to declare that the "satisfaction" is of service only where the two preceding parts are present. The satisfaction they distribute into three parts, viz., prayer, fasting, and alms; the former comprising also all works of the soul, as the hearing, preaching, and teaching of God's word, etc.; the second, all mortifications of the flesh, as vigils, the use of a hard bed, rough clothing; and the last, all works of love and mercy for one's neighbour. Not a single passage of Scripture can be found, declaring that God's justice makes any other requirement than true and heartfelt sorrow, combined with the purpose to bear hereafter the cross of Christ. A thousand times better would it be, if a Christian were to desire no indulgence, but would cheerfully do all the appointed works, and suffer all the appointed pain, since indulgence means exemption from good works and salutary suffering. The plea that such works and suffering exceed man's power cannot be urged, since neither God nor the Holy Church will lay upon anyone more than he can bear (1 Cor. x., 13). It is only for the sake of indolent and imperfect Christians that indulgences are allowed. Far better to make a contribution towards the building of St. Peter's as a present, than that it should reach the same end as the compensation for an indulgence. A most serious interference with good works are indulgences. Indigent persons nearest to us demand the first care. If in one's own city there be no poor people, contributions to churches, altars, etc., in that city are in place. When their necessities are

provided for, then, according to 1 Tim. v., 8, the turn of St. Peter comes. "If to this, however, the objection be made that this will effectually prevent all purchase of indulgences, my answer is that my advice is against such purchase. They may well be left to lazy and sleepy Christians." The probability of a charge of heresy is anticipated as likely to follow at the instance of stupid men, who have never read the Bible, and who are notorious for judging a case before giving it a hearing.[1]

[1] Weimar, i., 239 *sqq.*; *Op. var. arg.*, i., 326 *sqq.* In fixing the date we have followed Knaake's introduction to this sermon in Weimar edition.

ERASMUS.

CHAPTER II

THE RECEPTION OF THE THESES AND THE HEIDELBERG CONFERENCE

CROWDS of eager students may have gathered for hours before the door of the Castle Church, intent upon reading and copying the sensation of the day, but this indicated no general approval, at that time and place, of the aggressive character of the Theses. The first effect upon those nearest Luther was stunning. Whatever their abhorrence of the methods of Tetzel, and their dissatisfaction with the whole system which admitted such manifest abuses, the impression was that he had spoken unadvisedly. His colleagues were apprehensive of the result for the University. Carlstadt withheld his approval, and Dr. Schurf of the legal faculty expostulated with him. The Augustinian monks saw the stake in the foreground, and dreaded the disgrace which the presence among them of a second Savonarola would cast upon their Order; while his

former teachers and associates at Erfurt lamented the pride, which they thought could be read in his vigorous sentences. Repelling these charges in a letter to Lange, the prior at Erfurt, he writes: "If the work be of God, who shall prevent it? If it be of man, who shall promote it? Not my will, nor their will, nor our will, but Thy will, O Holy Father, be done!" As the expression of his confidence and calmness, he signs the letter "F. Martinus Eleutherius, Augustiniensis"; thus, in the play upon his name (*i. e.*, "the liberated"), asserting that, by his apprehension of the fact of his sonship with God, he has become the Lord's freeman.[1]

His remarks of self-depreciation and the contemptuous slurs of opponents must not be interpreted as indicating that when he entered upon the contest he was an unknown and insignificant monk. Throughout a large portion of Germany his attainments were already conceded, as his rank in his Order and his position in the University show. Even though, for the moment, he stood alone at Wittenberg, the Theses, or their general contents, were immediately circulated through the channels of communication between the various universities; and from them, as centres, in all directions. It was a live subject of which they treated. The most pressing question of the hour was here answered. The revulsion of the general Christian feeling to the indulgence traffic had found clearest expression. Men were only waiting for some one to speak the first word; and this had now been done. But more

[1] De Wette, 1: 73.

had been said than they had anticipated. New thoughts of the greatest moment and the most far-reaching consequences had been suggested. The antagonisms hitherto felt and the protests made had been directed to the more superficial aspects of the subject. New relations come to view, as the foundations and consequences of the teaching by which indulgences were supported, are brought to examination. The Theses are more than a series of negations; they offer the positive teaching needed for the rest of the soul. Hence the words of approval rising from many widely separated quarters, and quickly sent back to encourage and strengthen weak hearts at Wittenberg. "In fourteen days," says Luther, "they flew all over Germany." "In four weeks," says his cotemporary, Myconius, "they were diffused throughout all Christendom, as though the angels were the postmen."

The result was unexpected and even startling to the author. Prepared, as they had been, for a small circle, the Theses would have been differently framed if he had anticipated the extent of their influence. On some of the topics presented he was not yet fully clear, and was earnestly seeking light through a possible discussion. But they were no longer his property.

Among those who responded favourably was the preacher, Dr. Fleck, whose discourse at the inauguration of the University contained the famous play upon the name Wittenberg, as the "berg," or mount of "wit" or wisdom. Reading the Theses, he exclaimed, "Well, the man has at last come!" and immediately sent to Luther a letter of approval.

Meanwhile the opposition was also gathering its forces. Whether the Archbishop of Mayence ever received the letter written by Luther that evening is a question. But the circumstances are promptly reported by his deputies, and his anxiety as to the effect upon his revenue is excited. At the advice of the theologians and jurists of the University of Mayence, he issues on the 13th of December "an inhibitory process" against Luther, sends a copy of the Theses to the Pope, with the request that prompt measures be taken to resist the spread of such teaching, and seeks to remove some of the complaints against the sale of indulgences, by instructions to the subordinates of Tetzel to discontinue some of the practices that have given most offence. But, blind to the real principle involved, he provides at the same time for an extension of the territory for the traffic.

Tetzel also is aroused, and, in order that he may reply to Luther, receives at the close of the year the degree of a licentiate, and shortly afterwards that of a Doctor of Theology. Luther's sermon on indulgences, of the same date as the Theses, was not published until the succeeding March, the Bishop of Brandenburg having treated Luther with more consideration than the Archbishop, and sent the Abbot of Lenin to Wittenberg, with the special request, which Luther for a long time respected, that he should refrain from its publication. But as the subject became one of general notoriety, the time came when he felt that no such restriction should be observed. When published, it evoked an early reply

from Tetzel, who carefully avoids mentioning either Luther or Wittenberg, but attempts to refute each of the twenty propositions of the sermon. Prior to this, however, in the very last days of 1517, one hundred and six theses were published under the name of Tetzel, generally understood to have been composed by the Frankfort theologian, Conrad Wimpina, which were directed against Luther's, imitating closely their very language, and were soon followed by a series of fifty more, bearing the same character. When eight hundred copies of these theses sent to Wittenberg for sale were seized by the students and publicly burned, Luther expressed from the pulpit his deep regret that, in their zeal, they had resorted to such lawless methods.

Besides the publication of the sermon on indulgences, heretofore withheld, he attempted for the present no further contribution to the controversy than a sermon upon repentance. He was preparing meanwhile for the gathering storm by the careful elaboration of an explanation of the Theses, the precise form of which, as well as the occasion for its publication, was to be determined hereafter. Calmly he went about his daily work as a professor, projecting schemes for the enlargement of the course of the University, and faithfully preaching the word with reference to the individual wants of his hearers. His correspondence during this period with Spalatin, the secretary and chaplain of the Elector, is interesting. The latter has asked various perplexing questions, which Luther promptly answers. One relates to the guilt of invincible ignorance; to which, after

stating the ordinary scholastic distinction, he replies that, so far as we are concerned, all ignorance is invincible, while, so far as the grace of God is concerned, no ignorance is invincible; and that, therefore, ignorance is no excuse for a sin. Otherwise there would be no sin in the world.[1] In another letter he answers the question as to how many Marys are mentioned in the Gospels, and how many women were at the sepulchre.[2] He undertakes to prescribe for his friend a course of theological reading, warning him, with some hesitancy, against the extravagant estimate Erasmus has placed upon Jerome as a Church teacher. The very first thing, he says, is to apprehend the fact that the Scriptures cannot be penetrated by our study, and that, therefore, prayer is the very first requisite. Despairing, thus, of our own ability, and looking to God for His Spirit, the next thing is to read the Bible through, from beginning to end, first with regard to the simple narrative, in connection with which the reading of the Epistles of Jerome is advised; and then with regard to the knowledge of Christ, in which Augustine will be found most serviceable.[3] The Elector, in connection with a kind intercession on behalf of Staupitz and a warning concerning new charges that he may expect to hear soon against Luther, is courteously reminded of a promise to furnish his humble subject with a new coat. Spiritual refreshment he found in the writing of an exposition of the One Hundred and Tenth Psalm, which, after transmission to Spalatin, was

[1] De Wette, 1 : 74. [2] *Ib.*, 80 *sq.* [3] *Ib.*, 88.

sent by the latter to the press, and appeared during the summer of 1518.

Early that spring his academical labours were interrupted by a journey to Heidelberg, to attend a meeting of the members of the Augustinian Order, which, as it had no connection with the controversy, afforded him great physical benefit, by the respite it gave him from the strain under which he had been labouring. Friends were apprehensive of danger; but he answered by reminding them of his vow of obedience, and declaring in reference to enemies: "The more they rage, the more I go forward."[1] The Elector's consent was obtained with some difficulty; but when Luther could not be dissuaded he wrote to Staupitz, requesting that he be not detained longer than was necessary, and gratefully referred to the fact that Staupitz had recommended him to the place he was filling with signal success. At the same time, he furnished Luther with a passport and with letters of introduction to the Bishop of Wuerzburg, and to the brother of the Palatinate Elector, whose residence was at Heidelberg. On the 11th of April Luther set out on foot with an attendant, for whose services he was not able to pay farther than Wuerzburg. His fame had not brought with it exemption from pecuniary straits. In four days he reached Coburg, where the Saxon treasury officials had been instructed to provide for his necessities. Two days later he was hospitably received by Bishop Lorenz of Wuerzburg, who, shortly before his death in the following year, wrote to the

[1] De Wette, 1: 101.

Elector concerning the favourable impression that Luther had made during the visit. Here he was joined by his friend Lange, the prior at Erfurt, and other members of his Order. Taking carriages, they reached Heidelberg on the 21st, and found a home in the Augustinian monastery. No reception could have been more cordial than that which they received from the Count, who showed them every hospitality, not only because of the letter from the Elector Frederick, but especially because he was himself an alumnus of Wittenberg, and in 1515 had been elected Rector of the University.

The convention having adjourned, after the election of Staupitz as Vicar-General, and Lange as Provincial Vicar, the usual custom of holding a theological discussion before separating was observed. Luther was requested to prepare the theses and preside at the discussion, while the Augustinian, Leonard Beyer, was made the respondent. The Heidelberg professors not desiring to commit themselves so far to the endorsement of Luther's position, the conference was held, not in the auditorium of the University, but in the Augustinian monastery. The Count and his friends, all the University professors, and many of the students, besides the members of the Order, attended. The main interest, of course, was to hear Luther in his exposition of the principles then attracting the attention of all Christendom. But neither in the theses nor in their defence did he touch upon the question of indulgences. He preferred to treat of the underlying principles that had determined his attitude, and that, in his

opinion, were indispensable to all sound theological discussion, as well as to all true Christian life. To him there were thoughts of still greater moment than those that had thus far entered into public discussion. They were the inability of man to be justified before God by works of the Law, man's bondage to sin, and the absolute need of Divine grace. Even the Divine Law, he says, cannot promote salvation. How much more impotent are the works of purely natural reason! What is it that renders the works of the godly other than mortal sins, but the fact that they distrust them? What, then, if men trust in their works? "Sins are venial before God, only when dreaded by men as though they were mortal." "A man who imagines that he attains grace by doing according to his power, only adds one sin to another." "Man must utterly despair of self, in order to be prepared for the reception of the grace of God." "The Law says: 'Do this,' and it is never done. Grace says: 'Believe in Him,' and, lo, all is done." "The love of God does not find, but it makes one worthy of the grace of God." To twenty-eight such theses, twelve on philosophical questions were added, in which he seeks to find a more correct philosophical method for theological discussions than had heretofore prevailed, contrasting Aristotle with Plato, etc., and entering a field into which he never advanced farther. It is doubtful whether any time was actually given in the conference to these latter theses.[1]

Although the Heidelberg theologians were still

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, i., 387 *sqq.*; Weimar, i., 353 *sqq.*

ardent adherents of the scholastic theology, the best spirit marked the debate. Strange as his position appeared, they treated Luther with all courtesy, and he, in turn, appreciated their consideration and admired their acuteness. Only one remark formed an exception, when one of the younger professors addressed Luther, "If the rustics hear such remarks from you, they will stone you."

None in the audience were more interested in the proceedings than a group of young men, whose minds had for some time been exercised on the themes under discussion. Among them was John Brentz, then nineteen years old, afterwards to become the Reformer of Wuerttemburg; Erhard Schnepf, then twenty-three, afterwards professor at Jena; Theobald Billicanus, the Reformer of Noerdlingen; and Martin Bucer, a young Dominican monk, who, although a member of the same Order as Tetzel, was an accomplished scholar and a youth of deep earnestness. A letter of Bucer, written directly afterwards, is full of the glow of admiration that the discussion had infused, and gives a summary of Luther's treatment of each of the theses that were reached.

"With all the force that our leaders brought to bear against him, they were not able with their quibbles to move him even a finger's breadth. It is astonishing, with what amenity he answers, with what incomparable patience he listens to his opponents, and with what genuine Pauline, not Scotist, acuteness, he unties the knots of objections, so that by his brief and forcible answers

JOHN BRENTZ.

FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING.

derived likewise from the treasure of Holy Scripture, he easily won the admiration of all." [1]

After the discussion these students conferred with Luther. He accepted Bucer's invitation to a meal, during which they were alone, and had ample opportunity for the freest conversation. Bucer makes the significant remark: "In all things he agrees with Erasmus; only that what Erasmus merely suggests, he teaches plainly." [2]

Leaving Heidelberg in the beginning of May, his return was not as fatiguing as his journey thither had been, for his friends saw to it that he rode the entire distance back. During part of the way he had the company of one of his former teachers at Erfurt, Dr. Usingen, and used all his powers of persuasion to win him over. "I left him," he says,[3] "thinking and wondering," and concludes that little hope can be entertained of those who have grown old in their opinions, but that it is with the rising generation that the best results are to be obtained. During his stay at Erfurt he called upon another of his former instructors, Dr. Jodocus Trutvetter, hoping to answer in person the charges that the latter had made in a letter reproving him for the Theses, and especially the sermon on indulgences, but he was not admitted to an interview. He im-

[1] Bucer to Rhenanus, in Gerdesius, *Historia Reformationis*, i., *Monumenta*, pp. 176 *sq.* Other documents of the conference in Loescher, ii., 40–62.

[2] Gerdesius, i., *Monumenta*, p. 78.

[3] De Wette, i. 112.

mediately wrote a long letter, full of affection, to the man to whom he confesses that he owes so much, calmly denying some of the matters with which he has been charged, and expressing the desire to correspond with him at length as to the points involved, if there be no other way of conferring. But the pupil had advanced too far for his instructor when he laid down the sweeping proposition that must have cut the adherent of Scholasticism to the very quick, in the words: "I absolutely believe that it is impossible to reform the Church, unless the canons, decretals, scholastic theology, philosophy, and logic, as they are now, be eradicated, and other studies be instituted."[1] There was a subsequent interview, but without result. On the 15th of May Luther is again at home, with his strength greatly renewed for the conflicts that are at hand.

[1] De Wette, I: 107 *sqq.*

HUS. LUTHER.

CHAPTER III

ECK, PRIERIAS, AND THE POPE

SHORTLY before Luther's departure for Heidelberg he was annoyed by an underhanded attack from a man who professed to be his friend, Dr. John Eck, of Ingolstadt. A year before they had been introduced by Scheurl, and had corresponded. In his "Obelisks," Eck applied to Luther epithets justifiable only when every effort has failed to convince an opponent of his error. Luther was the more indignant because he conceded the learning and ability of Eck, and would have been pleased to have engaged with him in public and honourable discussion. Although not caring to reply, his friends induced him to prepare a series of "Asterisks," as an answer, which Knaake has lately shown was not published until in the first collected edition of Luther's *Works*, but, like the attack of Eck, was circulated in manuscript.[1] During Luther's absence, however,

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, i., 406 *sqq.*; Weimar, i., 278 *sqq.*

Carlstadt had posted up theses, announcing his readiness to refute Eck publicly, and a few days later received from Eck the apology, not unusual with controversialists, that he was the friend of both Luther and Carlstadt, and that, if he could have foreseen that his private writing would have been made so public, he would have written with much greater care.

But the discussion soon extended beyond Germany. The earliest reports sent to Rome by the Archbishop of Mayence made no impression upon the Pope. Leo X., a true humanist, favoured the utmost freedom of opinion, so long as the revenues of the Papacy were not seriously affected or its orderly government disturbed. Secure in his position, and preoccupied with other subjects, he seems to have been secretly amused at the agitation of Albrecht and the Dominicans. The entire controversy he looked upon as a mere incident of monastic wrangling. "Brother Martin," he said, "has a very fine head!" Luther heard the report that, after reading the Theses, the Pope said that they had been written by a drunken German, who would think differently after he had become sober. So simple a matter did it seem, by a very mild remedy, to heal the wound, that in February, 1518, Leo instructed the General of the Augustinians to "pacify the man." But the Dominicans at Rome took the matter more seriously. The credit of their great teacher, Thomas Aquinas, was at stake. In the attack upon one of their prominent brethren, Tetzel, the Order itself had been injured. The German

Dominicans clamoured for active measures. The effort to arouse Leo from his indifference was made by Silvester Mazzolini, generally called, from his native place, Prierias, the official censor, a Dominican learned in St. Thomas. An attack upon the Theses was published in June, and received by Luther in August. Luther acknowledges that on its reception he was terrified, because of the high rank of his critic; but when he undertook to read it, its superficiality amused him to such an extent, that he concluded that the best way to reply would be to republish it. The edition being immediately absorbed after publication, he inferred that the Dominicans had bought it up, and therefore again reprinted it, this time with an answer.[1]

Prierias entered upon the work with much pretension, referring to the weight of his years and the extraordinary circumstances that had rendered it necessary for him to enter the field, but, in order to show how easily Luther could be answered, boasted that he had written his pamphlet within three days. His entire strength is applied to the work of testing Luther's statements according to the theology of Thomas, with vapid declamations against every questioning of such authority as final. Four propositions concerning the nature of the Church, a topic which, as Prierias correctly apprehended, was fundamental to the controversy, introduce the discussion. He precedes by three centuries and a half the decree of the Vatican Council concerning papal infallibility.

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 1 *sqq.*; Weimar, i., 647 *sqq.*

"1. The Church Universal is essentially the assembly for worship, of all believers in Christ. But the Church Universal is virtually the Church of Rome, the head of all the churches, and the Pope. The Roman Church is representatively the college of cardinals; but virtually it is the Pope, who is Head of the Church, although otherwise than Christ. 2. Just as the Church Universal cannot err in deciding concerning faith and morals, so also a true council, acting according to its end, viz., to understand truth, and including its Head, cannot finally err. Although, for a time, it may be deceived, nevertheless, as long as the motive to inquire after the truth remain, even although it sometimes err, it shall at length, through the Holy Spirit, have the correct understanding of the truth. Thus, neither the Roman Church nor its Pope can err, when he decides concerning that with respect to which he is Pope, *i. e.*, when he makes official declarations and acts for the understanding of the truth. 3. Whoever does not rest upon the doctrine of the Roman Church and the Roman Pope, as an infallible rule of faith, from which even the Holy Scriptures derive their authority, is a heretic. 4. The Roman Church can determine anything concerning faith and life, by deed as well as by word. The only difference is that words are more precise. Custom, therefore, contains the force of law, because the will of a ruler is expressed in deeds, permissively or effectively. As a heretic, therefore, is one who thinks incorrectly concerning the truth of the Scriptures, so also is one who thinks incorrectly as to the doctrine and deeds of the Church, pertaining to faith and life."[1]

Thus the practice of the Roman Church, whatever

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, i., 346 *sq.*

it be, is elevated to the rank of an absolute standard of right.

Luther introduces his reply by asserting the absolute authority of Holy Scripture above that of all teachers and churches. Further on he criticises the propositions concerning the Church, in these forcible words:

"The Church, virtually, I do not know, except in Christ; nor do I know it representatively, except in a council. Otherwise, if whatever the Church, virtually, *i. e.*, the Pope, do, is called the deed of the Church, what monstrous crimes, I ask, must we not reckon as good deeds! Must we not include among them the horrible shedding of blood by Julius II.? Must we not include also the tyranny of Boniface VIII., abhorred by the whole world? Nevertheless as to the latter, the proverb is well known: 'Like a fox he entered; like a lion he reigned; like a dog he died!' Surely you would not have us believe that all these intolerable monstrosities are the most holy deeds of the Church! But, if the Pope be the virtual Church, and the cardinals the representative Church, and the collection of believers the essential Church, what will you call a general council? A virtual Church? No! A representative Church? No! An essential Church? No! What then? An accidental, perhaps a nominal and verbal church!"[1]

If it took Prierias only three days to write the attack upon Luther, the latter replies that he spent one day less in preparing the answer! In two subsequent pamphlets Prierias tried to escape the force of Luther's reasoning, but was so heavily encum-

[1] Weimar, i., 656, 657; *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 22.

bered by reliance upon the definitions of Thomas that he could not adapt himself to his opponent. He belonged to a past generation, and had no weapons for the new warfare that had arisen.

But a still more important contribution to this controversy had already appeared. During the entire winter Luther had been at work on a calm and thorough exposition of his Theses, in which he had availed himself of all the results of his other controversial writings on the same subject. The aim was to enter into its consideration more scientifically and without a polemical spirit. In the *Resolutiones*,[1] to whose completion he devoted himself with absorbing interest, immediately after his return from Heidelberg, we find a review of the questions at issue in the light of subsequent events, and constantly maturing convictions. It shows that on more than one point he had outgrown the Theses; that on others, what he had advanced with hesitation he was now ready to confess boldly before all men; that on still others, concerning which he was afterwards clear, he was still feeling his way. But even in this paper, there are inconsistencies that are to be explained only upon the supposition that his opinions changed as he wrote, and even after the earlier pages were in type. All these facts reveal the sincerity of his character, and that every step forward was the result of a struggle. Side by side we read "the devotion of a monk who had been reared in awe of the Roman See, and the bold self-consciousness of a Christian and theologian who, if

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 137 *sqq.*; Weimar, i., 522 *sqq.*

what he hopes cannot be accomplished otherwise, is ready to oppose the convictions of his conscience against the world."

In order that this document be appreciated, it is necessary to read the letters to the Pope and Staupitz that accompany it.[1] To the Pope it was dedicated, and Staupitz was asked to transmit it to His Holiness. In the letter to Staupitz he explains the manner in which the controversy began. An incidental remark of Staupitz concerning the foundation of all true repentance in love to God had given Luther the clue to the meaning of all the passages of Scripture in which the word "Repentance" occurs. As he became more proficient in Greek, he found that the New Testament word, by which it is translated, means no more than a change of mind. When the preachers of indulgences utterly perverted this meaning, making it nothing else than a series of satisfactions and confessions, he could not keep silent; and thus, although he preferred to be hidden in a corner, he had been brought into publicity. He closes with the eloquent words:

"To my friends, with their threats, I have no other answer than that of Reuchlin: 'He who is poor fears nothing and can lose nothing.' Property I neither have nor desire. If I have had fame and honour, he who now loses them loses them forever. If, then, by force or plots, as God wills, they take away the one thing that is left, viz., my poor, frail body, already worn out with incessant troubles, they will make me poorer for perhaps

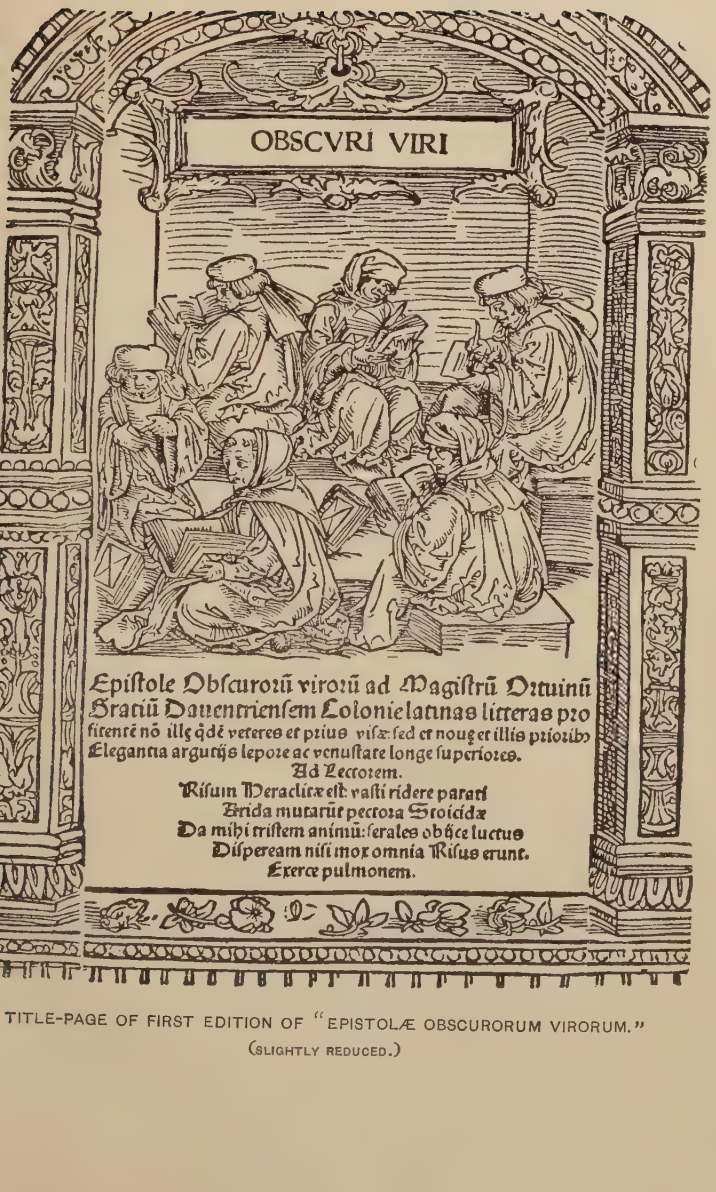
[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 132, 129; Weimar, i., 527, 525.

one or two hours of this life! Enough for me is it to have my precious Redeemer and Advocate, my Lord Jesus Christ, to Whom I will sing as long as I have being. If any one be unwilling to sing with me, what is that to me? Let him howl to himself if he so prefer!" [1]

To the Pope he writes with a reverence that would be unintelligible if it were not the rule that in all progress there is, in every sincere student, a strange combination of contradictory principles. He states the manner in which he had come forward, claiming that, all the while, he had been acting by the authority conferred upon him by his theological doctorate that had been given him by the Pope. The protection of the Elector of Saxony, with his well-known zeal for the truth, ought to assure the Pope that he could not be the dangerous man that he was represented to be! No words of submission could be more emphatic than those with which he closes: "Quicken, kill, call, recall, approve, reprove, as you please. I will acknowledge your voice as that of Christ, presiding and speaking in you." [2]

Introducing the *Resolutiones* with a statement of the standard according to which doctrines are to be judged, the decisions of the scholastics and canonists are ruled out, and only the Holy Scriptures, the Church Fathers, and the usage of the Roman Church admitted. While the line between Scriptural and ecclesiastical authority is not explicitly drawn, nevertheless the treatment shows that he regards Holy Scripture as the only final authority. Examining each of the Theses, his main effort is de-

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 132. [2] *Ib.*, 135.


OBSCVRI VIRI
Epistole Obscurorũ virorũ ad Magistrũ Ortuinũ Gratiũ Dauentrienſem Colonielatinas litteras pro fitentẽ nõ illę q̃dẽ veteres et priuſ viſæ: ſed et nouę et illis prioribꝰ Elegantia argutijs lepore ac venuſtate longe ſuperiores.
Ad Lectorem.
Riſum Meraclitæ eſt vaſti ridere parati
Brida mutarũt pectora Stoicidæ
Da mihi triſtem animũ: ferales obẽce luctus
Diſpeream niſi mox omnia Riſus erunt.
Exercæ pulmonem.

TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST EDITION OF "EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM VIRORUM."
(SLIGHTLY REDUCED.)

voted to showing its Scriptural foundations. An array of proof-texts meets us, particularly in the treatment of the earlier and fundamental Theses, suggestive of the methods of later text-books of theology. Great care is taken to distinguish between repentance and satisfactions, and to determine the actual grounds of forgiveness. The principle is maintained that faith alone receives the forgiveness of sins. Absolution is declared to be the assurance of the forgiveness that God has already given. It imparts nothing when the Divine condition of forgiveness is absent. Christ, he says, has not willed that the salvation of anyone should depend upon the power of any man; and yet, as a means whereby consciences are assured of the truth of Christ's promise and thus consoled, the power of the keys is to be prized as a gift of God, for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful. The opinion of the superfluous merits of saints is opposed by the argument that so far from being able to do more than the law demands, they cannot fulfil it. The power of the Pope, he teaches, is to be most highly honoured; but all such authority is to be limited to the externals of religion, and not to those matters that concern man's inner relations to God. The foundation of such authority is placed on the same grounds as that for obedience to the civil government, but no other. Unless the decisions of the Pope be inwardly just, they are of no validity, and the consciences of Christians are not bound to them. The theory of the two swords, spiritual and temporal, is repudiated, and the point urged that if this

were so, then it might also be taught that there are two keys, one to the riches of Heaven and the other to those of this world. The Church, he declares, needs a reformation, which is not the duty of a single Pope, or of any cardinals, but of the whole Christian world, nay, of God alone. Only He who has created times, knows when the time of this reformation is to be. In hope of it, many things are to be patiently endured. Leo is praised as a pontiff worthy of better times, whose integrity and learning are the delight of all who hear of him. He affirms in one place his most firm belief in Purgatory, although he afterwards adduces arguments against it.

Before this treatise, with its extravagant compliments, had left the press, Luther had reason to change his good opinion of the Pope. The phlegmatic spirit of Leo had at length been excited by the persistent efforts of the Dominicans. The papal solicitor, Mario Perusco, had preferred charges of heresy against Luther, and the Pope had appointed a commission to try the case, consisting of his auditor, Jerome Ghinucci, Bishop of Ascoli, and Prierias. The former not being eminent for theological attainments, but known only as a financier and executive officer, the person upon whom would rest the decision as to Luther's guilt was the very advocate who had already argued that he was a heretic! The case was prejudged, and no one could doubt what the verdict was to be.

The citation reached Luther on the 7th of August. He was summoned to appear at Rome within sixty

days. The charge of heresy for having ventured to take a positive stand upon a question as to which the Church had never given its decision, combined with the wrong done him in the selection of the person to judge the case, aroused the indignation of the entire University, as it felt itself involved in the affront given its most prominent professor. The Elector, always ready to respond to appeals where the interests of his University were at stake, was asked by Luther to intercede with the Emperor and Pope for a change of the place of making answer from Rome to some city in Germany. Spalatin was implored to use all his influence with the Elector to this end.[1] At the time both Frederick and his secretary were at Augsburg, where the Emperor Maximilian was holding an imperial diet. Kept in suspense for at least two weeks, Luther urges Spalatin to have the decision hastened.

"You know," he writes, "that in all these matters I fear nothing. For if by means of their flattery or power they cause me to be hated, I have in my heart and conscience this one thing, that I know and confess that all that I have, and against which they are contending, I have of God, to Whom I will gladly offer all. If He remove them, let them be removed; If He preserve them, let them be preserved! His holy Name be blessed forever! Amen. But I do not see in what way I can escape the verdict intended against me, unless by aid of the Prince. I would much rather suffer than that the Prince should, for my sake, incur any ill reputation. Never will I be a heretic. In disputing, indeed, I can

[1] De Wette, 1: 131.

err ; but I am unwilling to decide anything, and yet I cannot be subservient to the opinions of men." [1]

By these last words he means to declare that the decision rests with the Church, and that he cannot accept the decisions of any individuals as those of the Church. "Our friends," he continues, "have thought that I should ask of the Elector a safe-conduct through his dominions, and that when he would refuse, as I know that he would, I should have a valid excuse for not appearing." [2]

Some weeks before the citation was received, the Count of Mansfeld, who, as the ruler of Luther's old home, was deeply interested in his welfare, advised John Lange, the Erfurt Augustinian Vicar, not to allow Luther to leave Wittenberg, as there was reason to believe that his life was in danger. Writing to his friend, Wenceslaus Link, of Nuremberg, Luther says:

"Like Jeremiah, I am clearly a man of strife, since I am daily irritating the Pharisees with what they call new doctrines. But while I am unconscious of having taught anything but the pure doctrine I, nevertheless, foresee that I will be an offence to the most holy Jews and foolishness to the most wise Greeks. I hope that I am debtor to Jesus Christ, who says : 'I will show him what great things he must suffer for My name.' For if He do not say this, why has He put such an obstinate man as I am in the ministry, or why has He not taught me something else to say ?" [3]

In this confidence, he poured forth the innermost

[1] De Wette, i : 132 *sq.* [2] *Ib.*, 132. [3] *Ib.*, 129 *sq.*

convictions of his heart as to the real significance of perils he had encountered, in a sermon on the significance and validity of excommunication, preached shortly after his return from Heidelberg, but which was not published until after the reception of the summons to Rome. Commended most highly by friends, when preached, it had met with such gross misrepresentations from enemies, that he felt it his duty, weeks after its delivery, to write it out, from memory. Excommunication, he declares, is the denial of communion, and the placing of one outside the community of believers. But this is twofold, viz., internal, or that of faith, hope, and love to God; and external and corporeal, or, properly, participation in the same sacraments, or, more widely, every form of intimate association. Of the former, or spiritual communion, a creature can deprive us no more than it can bestow such a gift (Rom. viii., 38, 39; 1 Pet. iii., 13). Ecclesiastical excommunication is only the deprivation of external communion (1 Cor. v., 11; 2 Thess. iii., 14; 2 John v., 10). If just, excommunication means that the soul has been delivered already to the devil, and is deprived of spiritual communion; ecclesiastical excommunication therefore inflicts neither death nor punishment, but presupposes them, and is valid only as this condition is present. God must excommunicate before the Church can. It is the inner excommunication of God that is to be dreaded rather than the external excommunication of the Church. Unjust excommunication, viz., that which occurs when external excommunication is inflicted

upon those who are not already spiritually excommunicated of God, is a noble merit, and is to be cheerfully endured if the answer which, in all humility, we make to charges preferred against us, be unheeded.[1] By this argument, dispelling the dread of extreme discipline, he wrested from the Roman Church the chief means whereby it had maintained its authority, and encouraged the freest criticism of its principles and policy. Published at the very time when he was endeavouring to have his case tried in Germany, it is not strange that some of his friends were alarmed by what seemed to be its imprudent expressions, and that the Elector, as well as Spalatin, were much displeased when their efforts to prevent its publication failed, not because they dissented from its statements, but because they thought that, of all times, this was the most unsuitable for a presentation scarcely less irritating than the Ninety-five Theses themselves. Almost immediately the sermon was republished, three times at Leipzig and once at Augsburg, and new editions appeared the next year.

At Augsburg the course to be taken concerning Luther had become the subject of protracted negotiations. The Pope's purpose in the Diet was to secure a tax from Germany for the prosecution of the war against the Turks. The task of conciliating the Emperor and the German Electors was entrusted to his delegate, Cajetan, the former General of the Dominicans, now a cardinal, and a master in the art of diplomacy. As part of the policy, the Arch-

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 306 *sq.*; Weimar, i., 634 *sqq.*

bishop of Mayence, the chief German champion of the indulgence system, was invested with the cardinalate, while the Emperor Maximilian was presented with a consecrated hat and sword. The Emperor was closing the twenty-fifth year of his reign, and the last summer of his life. A ruler of versatile accomplishments, his ambitions had been disappointed. No papal coronation had given its sanction to his election; the title of "Holy Roman Emperor," for which he always aspired, never became his. Made "Protector of the Church" in Germany by his oath of office, the pontiff, for whose favour he was aspiring, was exacting a rigorous enforcement of the papal policy against Luther. But another motive deterred him from complying with the papal will. His heart was set upon the succession of his grandson, Charles, to the imperial throne, and the prince from whom he had most to fear, and whose favour was most important for this end, was the Elector of Saxony. Thus distracted by conflicting motives, sympathising on the one hand with the protest against abuses, and even commending the monk as one of whom care must be taken and whom the Church needed, and on the other unable to treat the question except as one of political expediency, he acquiesced in a formal letter to the Pope against Luther. Such responses, however, had been awakened from all ranks in Germany, chafing under the papal exactions, and regarding the tax for the war with the Turks only an expedient to obtain money for other purposes, that some concessions were unavoidable. The Elector was inflexible in his de-

mand that Luther must be tried only upon German soil, and with an entire appreciation of the Emperor's embarrassment, conducted the negotiations with Cajetan in such a way that he gained his point. The Pope tried his own hand with the Elector, and in a personal letter to Frederick[1] stigmatised Luther as a son of iniquity, and enjoined that he should see to it that Luther be brought "within the power and jurisdiction of this Holy See"; while, about the same date, in his instructions to Cajetan[2] he proclaimed his intention to inflict the interdict upon "all princes, communities, universities, and powers, or any of them," receiving Martin or his adherents, or, for any reason whatever, giving him aid, advice, or favour, whether directly or indirectly, "until three days after Luther appeared at the place designated." During the long suspense as to the result of the Elector's intercession, Luther's nearest friends were almost in despair. Spalatin wrote most gloomy letters from Augsburg, while Staupitz, in a very touching letter, urged him to come to him secretly at Saltzburg.

"The world," he writes, "seems to be enraged against the truth. Once, in its hatred, Christ was crucified; and what to-day awaits you except the cross I do not see. Unless I am deceived, the prevalent opinion is that, save by the will of the Pope, no one should search the Scriptures to determine what Christ has commanded. A few advocates you have. O that, for fear of adversaries, they were not hidden! I want you to leave Wittenberg for

[1] Weimar, ii., 352. [2] *Ib.*, 354.

a while and come to me, that we may live and die together. This is also the pleasure of the Prince. As deserted men let us follow the deserted Christ!" [1]

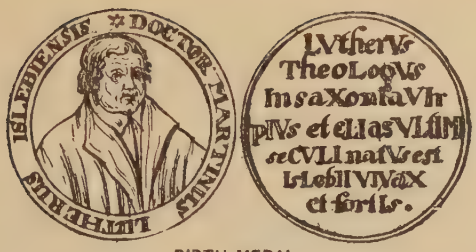
Meanwhile other interests divide his attention and relieve the strain of his apprehensions. His university work proceeds with a constant increase of students. His thoughts are intent upon the enlargement of the scope of the instruction. Especially desirous that the Word of God in its original text should be accessible, a vigorous effort had been made to secure a professor of Greek thoroughly versed in all the results of the revival of letters. With laudable ambition, Wittenberg aspired at securing Reuchlin, who, on declining, recommended his grand-nephew and *protégé*, Philip Melanchthon, then barely past his twenty-first year, and already widely celebrated for his attainments. On August 25th he reached Wittenberg, where his extreme youth, unpretentious appearance, and retiring disposition caused universal disappointment. But his inaugural address awakened the greatest enthusiasm. No one was more delighted than Luther. He found in the young professor the accomplished classical scholar, through whom the results of the New Learning were made available as instruments for the defence of the faith of the Reformation and the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Sensible of his defects in the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, and candid in acknowledging them, he had now one by his side upon whose judgment and advice within

[1] Loescher, ii., 446.

those spheres he could ever rely. He regarded him as a boy, cherished him as a son, confided in him as a brother, and in many things submitted to his advice and instruction as though he were his father and teacher. So constant and unreserved was the intimacy between them that, from this time on, it becomes impossible to absolutely separate their labours, since in the preparation of most books and papers, and in their decisions on all important questions, they acted with mutual consultation and revision of each other's work. It was the work of Luther to draw from the Holy Scriptures, under the pressure of severe conflict, the testimony which the particular emergency required. These testimonies came forth like sparks from the anvil, without regard to any rigid system. Melanchthon gathered them together, reduced them to scientific statement and methodical order, enriched them by his more varied reading, and carried to completion much that Luther had only suggested. Luther became the representative of the Reformation to the people; Melanchthon to scholars and courts. As mild and tender as Luther was fiery and impetuous, he moderated the spirit of his friend, and gained a hearing for their common cause, where Luther's methods were sometimes apt only to repell.

PHILIP MELANCHTHON.

FROM MELANCHTHON'S FUNERAL ORATION ON LUTHER, 1546.



BIRTH MEDAL.

CHAPTER IV

BEFORE CAJETAN AT AUGSBURG

NOT until the last week in September was Luther informed that he was to be heard, not in Rome, but at Augsburg. After the other business of the Diet was disposed of, it was proposed to consider his case. Responding without delay, he left Wittenberg with Leonard Beyer, who is remembered as one of the participants in the Heidelberg Conference, and made the journey, with the exception of a few miles, upon foot. The trying autumn weather, with its raw atmosphere and overcast skies, is particularly mentioned. At Weimar, where the Elector, who had already left the Diet, was tarrying, he preached on St. Michael's Day a sermon upon Matt. xviii., 1–11, that surprised his hearers by its absence of any allusion to the proper theme of the day, the guardianship of angels, and confined its attention to the sin of self-righteousness. There also he received through Spalatin instructions from the Elector as to the course to be pursued, letters to

persons of influence in Augsburg, and twenty guldens for expenses. The Franciscans entertained him, and when one of them expressed his apprehensions for Luther's safety, he was asked for his prayers, Luther adding that if the work were not of God it must be destroyed, but that otherwise no one could hinder it. As he proceeded, however, the thought of the disgrace that his parents would suffer in case he were to be condemned could not be entirely suppressed. At Nuremberg, kind friends notice that his coat is too shabby for the occasion, and provide him with a new one. There also his old friend, Link, joins him, and attends him the rest of the way, a partial compensation for the disappointment that the jurist Scheurl was absent from home, and therefore unable, according to the Elector's plans, to be his legal adviser. To many the journey to Augsburg seemed a death-march; but their expressions of sympathy are answered by the assurance that, even in Augsburg, Jesus Christ reigns. "Let Christ live; let Martin die." Worn out and sick, and unable for the last few miles to walk, he enters Augsburg October 7th.

Luther's unexpected arrival was the sensation of the hour. Everyone was eager to see and hear him. The Diet had practically adjourned, the most of the princes having left, and the Emperor being on a hunting expedition in the mountains. Luther's first abode was with his brethren of the Augustinian Order, and afterwards with the Carmelites. Trustworthy advisers were found in the Elector's counsellors and the citizens of Augsburg to whom the

Elector's letters introduced him. Beyer immediately was sent to bring Staupitz, who had promised to appear as soon as he would learn of Luther's arrival. On the day of Luther's entrance, Link was sent to Cajetan, to notify him that a response to the summons would be made at any hour. Here, however, a protracted series of negotiations began, that delayed procedure for nearly a week, Luther's counsellors insisting that the imperial "safe-conduct" must be given before he could personally appear. In the absence of Maximilian, the imperial counsellors regarded themselves unauthorised to give such an assurance to one who had already been adjudged a heretic. Cajetan's profuse personal pledges Luther firmly declined to accept. Even the intervention of one whom the Elector had commended to Luther, Urbanus de Serralonga, could not induce him to comply. "Do you suppose," asked Urbanus, "that the Elector will go to war on your behalf?" "No," answered Luther. "Where, then, will you stay?" "Under the heavens," was the response. "What would you do," continued the diplomat, "if the Pope and his cardinals were in your power?" "Treat them with all respect," was the prompt answer. The difficulty was finally adjusted, when Cajetan assured the imperial counsellors that he would connive at their taking the responsibility for the issue of the safe-conduct, although declining to sign the document. Luther being satisfied, the 12th of October[1] witnessed the

[1] For proceedings at Augsburg see Weimar, ii., 1 *sqq.*; De Wette, 1 : 142–167, 175 *sqq.*; *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 340 *sqq.*; Löscher, ii., 435 *sqq.*

beginning of the conferences. The delay had enabled Staupitz to reach him in ample time, as he appeared at Augsburg that very day.

In character and learning Cajetan stood in the first rank among the Roman ecclesiastics. The display, in which he is said to have outshone the Emperor at Augsburg, was intended to make a profound impression of the importance of the interests he represented. The preparation of a book on the subject of indulgences, even before the publication of Luther's Theses, had peculiarly fitted him for his mission. As an enthusiastic Dominican, his interpretation of the powers of the Papacy fully anticipated the position which the Roman Church did not venture to officially endorse until the late Vatican Council.

Instructed as to the proper procedure by Serralonga, Luther appeared before Cajetan, attended by his friends Link and Beyer, the prior Frosch, and two brethren of the Carmelites. A large number of Italian ecclesiastics, desirous of seeing and hearing Luther, attended the cardinal. According to instructions, Luther threw himself prostrate before the representative of the Pope. At the command to rise he knelt, and then, at the second command, he stood up. A moment of silence followed. Luther, interpreting it as meaning that now is the time to speak, expresses regret if, in any way, he has spoken unadvisedly, and asks to be better instructed. In a courteous and even complimentary reply, Cajetan declares his unwillingness to enter into a discussion, and propounds, in the

name of the Pope, three demands, viz., first, a recantation of errors; secondly, a promise to refrain from them in the future; and, thirdly, the avoidance of all other acts that might disturb the peace of the Church. Luther asks what the errors are that he is required to recant. Cajetan specifies two, which represent what have since been known as the formal and the material principles of Protestantism. The formal principle, viz., the sole authority of Holy Scripture in matters of faith, comes into immediate discussion, when Cajetan points Luther to Thesis LVIII.,[1] in which he has denied that the merits of Christ are the treasures of the Church, distributed by indulgences. The cardinal triumphantly adduces as his authority, by which to prove the error, the fact that the thesis is directly contrary to the Bull of Clement VI., beginning, "*Unigenitus,*" a document of some rarity, of which he seems to think Luther is ignorant. Luther not only shows his acquaintance with it, but directs the cardinal's attention to a similar statement of Sixtus IV. He meets the argument, not by questioning the genuineness of these documents, but by antagonising their teaching as doing violence to Holy Scripture. The cardinal replying that the authority of the Pope is above that of councils and Scripture, and Luther denying this, the discussion becomes warm, and diverges into a number of important side topics. The second error alleged against Luther was that in

[1] "Nec sunt merita Christi et sanctorum, quia haec semper sine Papa operantur gratiam hominis interioris, et crucem, mortem, infernumque exterioris."

his *Resolutiones*[1] he had taught that the sacraments confer no blessing except upon those confidently believing that the promise attached to the sacrament received belongs to them. The objection of Cajetan rested upon the assumption that no one can be sure whether or not he receives the grace of God. In all the great inner struggles of Luther's life this had been the burning-point. The mere suggestion that he should surrender a doctrine entering so deeply into his entire Christian experience, he tells us, occasioned the deepest pain, and he made prompt answer that, on this point, he could not recant, since this alleged error was the clear teaching of Holy Scripture. The uncompromising answer was: "Willingly or unwillingly, you must recant to-day, or, because of this one point, I shall condemn all your Theses." No result could be reached in the way of an agreement where the one aimed at nothing more than the accumulation of citations from the decretals and scholastics, while the other would admit no evidence not derived from the Scriptures.

The experience of the first day showed the importance of proceeding to the further discussions with the utmost caution. Accompanied by the Saxon counsellor, Dr. Peutinger, and by Staupitz and a notary, he presented at the very beginning of the interview of the next day a protest, setting forth with most careful discrimination the precise points of dissent.

"First of all," it ran, "I, Brother Martin Luther the

[1] *Conclusio* VII., *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 155 *sqq.*

Augustinian, protest that I revere and follow the Holy Roman Church in all my words and deeds, present, past, and future. If anything otherwise has been said I wish it unsaid. . . . I protest that I am not conscious of having said anything contrary to Holy Scripture, the Church Fathers, the papal decrees, or right reason, but that all that I have said seems to me to-day to be sound, true, and catholic. Nevertheless, as I am not infallible, I have submitted myself, and also now submit myself to the judgment and determination of the lawful holy Church, and to all of better mind. Besides, I offer either here or elsewhere to present publicly a reason for my statements. But if this be not agreeable to Your Reverence, I am ready either to respond in writing to the objections urged and to hear the judgment and decision of the doctors of the renowned Imperial Universities of Basel, Freiburg, Louvain ; or, if they be not enough, of Paris also, the parent of studies, and from antiquity ever the most Christian University, and that in which theology has been particularly cultivated." [1]

At what he deemed the presumption of this appeal, Cajetan professed to be amused. Unwilling to admit any argument, he insists upon the one word, " Recant." Luther's plea that he might be permitted to present a defence in writing, being supported by Staupitz, is finally conceded with the declaration that he will admit it, not as a judge but as a father, since no disputation with Luther can even be thought of. Dismissed the second time, Luther prepares in the monastery of the Carmelites a very thorough and comprehensive argument in answer to

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 371 *sq.*

the two specifications of error that Cajetan had preferred on the preceding day.

Laying down at the very beginning the proposition that the decretals of popes are to be received only when they are in harmony with Scripture, he shows that as Peter erred (Gal. ii., 11), and that as, in the synod at Jerusalem, it was not the teaching of Peter but that of James that was approved, those who claimed to be his successors certainly should not expect any higher immunity from error.

"I had not the temerity, on the ground of one ambiguous and obscure decretal of a pope, a mere man, to depart from numerous and most clear testimonies of Scripture, in which the saints are said to be without merits, since the Pope is not above but beneath the word of God, according to Gal. i., 8."[1]

He proceeds to show that there is a sense, after all, in which the statements of the Bull could be admitted, but urges that, as the words are ambiguous, and can afford only matters of dispute, the language that he had employed in his Theses is preferable.

As to the second specification, he says:

"The second objection is that I have said that no one can be justified except by faith, viz., that it is necessary for him, with confident faith, to believe that he is justified, and in no way doubt that he has received grace; for if he doubt and be uncertain, he is not justified, but rejects grace. To this I reply: 1. The truth is infallible that no one is righteous save he who believes in God (Rom. i., 17). Whoever believes not is already condemned

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 374.

and dead, and hence the righteousness and life of the righteous man is his faith. 2. But faith is nothing but to believe what God promises or says (Rom. iv., 3). 3. That one coming to the sacrament must believe that he receives grace and must not doubt, but believe with surest confidence, or must otherwise come into condemnation, we prove: 1. From Heb. xi., 6, 'But if he must believe God as rewarder, he must also believe him as a justifier and a present bestower of grace.' 2. Under penalty of eternal condemnation and the sin of infidelity, it is necessary to believe the words of Christ: 'Whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' If, then, you come to the sacrament of repentance, and believe not firmly that you are to be absolved in heaven, you enter into judgment, because you believe not that Christ spake the truth, when He said: 'Whatsoever ye shall loose,' etc., and thus, by your doubt, make Christ a liar, which is a fearful sin. But should you say: 'I am unworthy and unprepared for the sacrament,' I answer: By no preparation will you be worthy: by no works will you be prepared, but by faith alone, since faith in Christ's word alone justifies, renders worthy, quickens, and prepares, without which all else are efforts either of presumption or of despair. For the just lives not from his preparation, but from his faith. Hence your lack of worthiness should occasion no doubts: for just because you are unworthy you should come, in order to be made worthy; and you are justified by Him Who seeks for sinners, and not for the righteous. In believing the word of Christ you honour His word, and by His work you are righteous." [1]

Scripture proof after proof is quoted and com-

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 377 *sq.*

mented upon, viz.: Matt. xv., 28, viii., 13, viii., 8; John iv., 50; Mark xi., 24; Matt. xvii., 20; James i., 5–7; Luke i., 45; Rom. iv., 21. Supported thus by Scripture, he quotes triumphantly the adage: "Not the sacrament of faith, but the faith of the sacrament justifies," and he concludes with words in which we can read his declaration at Worms: "Only compel me to do nothing against my conscience. For, without qualification, I believe that this is the meaning of the Scriptures."[1]

Such a mode of argument is beyond the appreciation of one who relies exclusively upon the decrees of popes and the definitions of scholastics. When Luther, therefore, read it to the cardinal on the morning of October 14th, the indifference with which he listened and the summary way in which he disposed of it, with the promise, however, of sending it to Rome, were only what was to be expected.

The closing scene of this conference was one of excitement. Not a single passage of Scripture was produced against Luther's statements, but, instead, the one word that he heard was the monotone, "Recant," "Recant." Ten times Luther tried to speak, but was fairly shouted down, until he adopted the cardinal's method, and also let his voice be heard. As the heat of the contest grew, the cardinal's citation of his favourite authorities was parried by Luther's quickness in detecting and exposing the wrong construction placed upon them. He charged the cardinal with imagining that the Germans could not understand grammar, and forgot himself so far

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 379 *sqq.*

as at one time to dispense with the courtly style of address. Cajetan finally dismissed him with the words: "Recant, or do not come again before my eyes." Luther never troubled him afterwards with his presence.

Unwearied in his efforts, Cajetan next sought to effect his purpose through Staupitz, whom, with Link, he summoned to an interview. But Staupitz assured him that he had ever taught Luther the duty of obedience to the Church, and that, as Luther had passed beyond his ability to influence him, the representative of the Pope was the proper person to persuade him, if any one could. To the suggestion that Luther be granted another audience, Cajetan is said by Myconius to have replied: "I will talk no more with that beast; for he has deep eyes and wonderful speculations in his head."[1] In an interview shortly afterwards with Link, the offer was made to ignore the position concerning the assurance of faith, provided he would recant his declarations concerning indulgences. Staupitz and Link attempted to persuade him to yield, but were overwhelmed with such an array of Scripture texts that they desisted. Fearing that, as his Vicar-General, the unpleasant task of calling Luther to account might be imposed upon him, Staupitz released him from the obligation of obedience, and greatly encouraged him with the words: "Remember, brother, that thou hast begun these things in the

[1] Quoted by Loescher, ii., 477, from Myconius, *Hist. Ref.*, p. 73: "Ego nolo amplius cum hac bestia loqui. Habet enim profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo."

name of our Lord Jesus Christ." The rumour having reached them that Cajetan was planning to have them arrested, and taken with Luther to Rome, these two friends departed hastily and secretly for Nuremberg, leaving Luther awaiting the pleasure of the cardinal, in case he desired another interview. On Sunday, October 17th, he wrote a most humble letter to Cajetan, apologising for any discourtesy he had shown at the last interview. With all due respect, however, he repeats his constant reply, that while ready to concede everything else, he can surrender nothing that is a matter of conscience. He also very candidly gives his judgment concerning the folly of relying upon Thomas Aquinas as an authority.[1] Waiting still another day without an answer, he informed the cardinal that, unless he heard from him soon, he would waste no more time imposing upon the hospitality of the Carmelites while there seemed to be nothing for him to do. On the advice of the legal counsellors of Luther, a protest had already been prepared from Cajetan to the Pope, or, as he states it, "from the Pope ill-informed to the Pope better informed."[2] Leaving this protest to be handed to Cajetan by his friend Beyer, he passed, in the night of October 20th, through a small gate in the city walls, opened for him by a trusted friend, and, attended by an escort, rode on horseback in a monk's habit, and without a horseman's outfit, on the road to Nuremberg. Reaching the village of Monheim, a distance of eight

[1] De Wette, 1: 161, 163; *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 393, 395.

[2] Protest in *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 397 *sqq.*

German miles (thirty-two English miles), on the 21st, he was so fatigued from the unaccustomed mode of travelling that when he dismounted he fell from exhaustion upon the straw of the stable. On the next day the protest that he had left was posted by the cardinal upon the door of the cathedral at Augsburg.

On his arrival at Nuremberg he received from Spalatin a copy of the instructions sent, August 23d, to Cajetan by the Pope, showing that all through the pretended impartial treatment, he was already adjudged a heretic. Unwilling at first to surrender his good opinion of Leo, he openly pronounced the document a forgery, fabricated by enemies in Germany. Reaching home on the anniversary of the nailing up of the Theses, he wrote that evening: "I am full of peace and joy, so that I am surprised that this trial of mine seems anything important to many and great men." At the same time he announced his intention to appeal to a future council.

MELANCHTHON.

CHAPTER V

MILTITZ AND THE LEIPZIG DISPUTATION

ONCE more at Wittenberg, Luther entered with customary zeal upon his university duties, having been made the dean of the faculty during his absence. An interesting incident of the university life was the conferring of the degree of doctor of divinity upon the Carmelite prior, John Frosch, who had entertained Luther during his stay at Augsburg, and the banquet in his honour. Luther was immediately occupied with the preparation of a full report of the transactions between himself and Cajetan, since he was confident that his course and responses would be misrepresented. Before it was completed a letter was received by the Elector from Cajetan laying a complaint against Luther for his conduct at Augsburg, and demanding that the Elector should either send him to Rome, or banish him. The letter being immediately sent to Luther, he prepared on the same day an answer recounting all

the circumstances, and expressing his deep regret at the unpleasant position in which the Elector was placed. He begs not to be sent to Rome, as that would be nothing else than murder. But, at the same time, he declares his readiness, whenever the Elector thinks best, to leave Saxony. Paris seems to have been in his mind, and in that of his friends, as a possible place of refuge. From the pulpit he declared that he might suddenly depart without being able to bid the congregation farewell. Only once, and that for a brief moment, did the Elector think that Luther should be asked to leave. His prompt answer to Cajetan was:

"Since Dr. Martin offers to submit his case to the judgment of several universities, and to enter into a discussion at any places that are safe, and, when the case has been presented, will obediently permit himself to be taught and persuaded, we think that in all justice his request should be granted, or, at least, his errors ought to be shown him in writing,—a request that we also make, in order that we may know why he should be regarded a heretic, and that we may have the facts upon which to act. For we hold that one not yet convicted should not be held and branded as a heretic." [1]

As a preliminary to a personal attack, the Pope published, on November 9th, a Bull directed in general against all who were protesting against the sale of indulgences. It was the assumption by Leo of the full responsibility, in answer to Luther's belief, so often expressed, that his representatives were

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 409 *sq.*

acting beyond their instructions. Anticipating the arrival at any day of a sentence of excommunication, Luther made a formal appeal, before a notary and witnesses, in the chapel of the Parochial Church, from the decision of the Pope to a General Council.[1] Sent to the press, but not intended for publication before the arrival of the papal Bull, the printer, to Luther's displeasure, complied with the demand for its immediate issue. In making this appeal, he had in view the precedent afforded only a few months previously by the University of Paris.

But meanwhile Cajetan's course was not regarded with unqualified satisfaction at Rome. The firmness of the Elector of Saxony, it was felt, must have some reason. Tetzel had fallen into disrepute, as one whose extravagant statements and lack of judgment had occasioned the trouble. A special effort to win over the Elector was, therefore, determined upon. Mincio, the Venetian ambassador to the papal court, wrote home, that on September 4th the Pope had announced his intention of conferring upon the Elector the high honour of the presentation of the Golden Rose, and added: "The Pope did thus try, through the medium of the Duke of Saxony, to allay a heresy of a certain Dominican (!) friar, who was preaching in those parts of the Apostolic See." In order to render the present still more grateful, the nuncio chosen to transmit it was a Saxon nobleman, Carl von Miltitz, who for a number of years had represented the interests of the Elector at Rome. But his mission was wider. The

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 435 *sqq.*

work that Cajetan had failed in accomplishing was intrusted to him. He was not only to report as to the actual condition of affairs in Germany, but also to use every effort to bring about a reconciliation. The contrasts with his predecessor were very marked. The one was an Italian, not only unacquainted with the German people, but unable to understand their feeling, or adapt himself to their peculiarities; the other, as a German, not only knew the Germans, but had facilities of information and influence that were entirely closed to Cajetan. The one was an ecclesiastic, the other a jurist and diplomat. The one lived in the fossilised opinions of Thomas Aquinas, seeking to bend everything to his definitions, and thinking that all search for truth could be suppressed by the six letters, "Recant"; the other was a man of the world, devoted to social pleasure, and adjusting everything to the influences dominant at the hour. The one was reserved and secretive; the other, at the table, delighted in giving full liberty to his geniality, by graceful compliments and unanticipated revelations of what ordinarily belongs to the confidential relations between ambassadors and their sovereigns.

Miltitz had scarcely entered Germany before he was convinced that the Pope had a conflict before him, of the magnitude of which he had no conception. It was not the work of suppressing a single individual, but that of meeting the thoroughly aroused indignation of a large part of the nation. Mingling freely, on his way to Saxony, with the most influential circles at Augsburg and Nuremberg, he

learned more and more of the circumstances of the controversy. To Luther himself he afterwards acknowledged that, of every five men whom he met, scarcely two or three were on the side of the Pope. Tetzel, although summoned to his presence, did not venture to appear, the excuse being offered that the popular feeling against him was such that he could not come to Altenburg, except at peril of his life.

The greatest respect and consideration were shown Luther in the conference in the house of Spalatin, at Altenburg, during the first week of January, 1519. Miltitz freely conceded the extreme perplexity of the Papacy and the widespread sympathy and enthusiasm for Luther throughout all Germany. He was surprised at Luther's relative youth and vigour, having expected to find an old theologian, who preferred a quiet corner behind a warm stove from which to carry on his discussions. He would not venture, he said, with 25,000 men, to attempt to carry Luther across the Alps. Luther received these professions for what they were worth, regarding the tears shed by the nuncio, when he dwelt upon his peril, as "crocodile's tears," and the kiss, with which after dining together they parted, as "the kiss of Judas." The conference was not, however, without some temporary prospect of results. A German bishop, either of Treves or Saltzburg, was to be made arbiter, the disputants on both sides to refrain from writing on indulgences, Luther to address another letter of apology to the Pope, and to prepare an address to the people admonishing them of the duty of submission.

From Altenburg Miltitz went to Leipzig to look after Tetzel, whom he reproved so severely that this mortification, following the other expressions of censure, hastened his physical decline. He died on July 4th, 1519. The tenderness of Luther's character appears in a letter of consolation sent him during his last days, in which Luther assures him that he is not to be regarded the author of the trouble, but only the agent of another.[1]

Every effort seems to have been made by Miltitz to carry out his part of the program. A new political influence entered with the death of the Emperor Maximilian, January 12th. Pending the election of a new emperor, the Elector of Saxony became regent for Northern Germany, and was regarded not only the most influential ruler in the country, but even as the possible successor to the Imperial throne. Every motive advised a more conciliatory policy. Hopes of reconciliation without recantation began to dawn upon Luther. If, on the one hand, Miltitz secured the approval of Cajetan, Luther, on the other, fulfilled to the letter every promise he had made. His apology to the Pope, of March 3d, was written in an entirely different tone from his appeal to a General Council of the preceding December. It is a combination of the most humiliating, if not obsequious, professions of

[1] De Wette, 6: 18.

Köstlin says that on July 4th Luther began his discussion at Leipzig with Tetzel, "on the day of the evening of which Tetzel departed in the Dominican cloister at Leipzig." Böttcher, *Germania Sacra*, gives same date.

respect, with the reassertion of his complete justification in regard to the points in which the controversy had originated.

"Necessity forces me," he writes, "as the very dregs of men and the dust of the earth, to address again Thy Holiness and Majesty. Deign then to bend thy paternal ears, which are truly those of the Vicar of Christ, to this Thy little lamb, and attend to my bleating. . . . What am I to thee, Most Blessed Father? I know not what to do. Thy wrath I cannot endure; and yet how to be delivered from it I know not. I am commanded to recall the discussion. If I could accomplish what is intended by this demand, it would be done without delay. But, on account of the resistance of my adversaries, my writings have been published to a much greater extent than I had intended. They have entered many hearts so deeply that they cannot be recalled. Nay, our Germany to-day flourishes so remarkably in learning and sound judgment, that however much I desire to honour the Roman Church, they cannot be recalled. For this is impossible without bringing still greater disgrace upon the Roman Church. They whom I have resisted have brought infamy and shame among us in Germany upon the Church of Rome. . . . Before God and all creatures I attest that I have never wished, nor do I wish to-day, to touch in any way or plot against Thy power and that of the Roman Church; on the contrary, I acknowledge the power of the Church to be above all things; nor is anything in heaven or earth to be preferred to it, except alone the Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of all."[1]

Two points of contrast distinguish this letter

[1] De Wette, 1: 233 *sq.*

from the preceding one (May 31, 1518) to Leo. The struggle is no longer an individual one, but that of the German people; and it is no longer the power of the Pope, but that of the Church, to which he declares himself ready to submit.

In the *Instructions concerning Some Articles*,[1] published almost cotemporaneously with the writing of this letter, he makes a statement on some of the topics concerning which his teaching had been misrepresented. It is interesting to observe how gradual is his progress towards the position he ultimately attained. The invocation of saints, Purgatory, even indulgences, with certain qualifications, are approved. Miracles, he thinks, are still performed at the tombs of saints. The great abuse, against which he warns, is that of seeking only temporal and bodily blessings instead of spiritual by their intercession. "Who now invokes them for patience, faith, love, chastity?" Nor should they be invoked as though they had the power, of themselves, to bestow these things; they secure them only by their intercession with God. Indulgences are entirely matters of freedom. No one sins who does not procure them; nor does one obtain merit through their purchase. He who withholds needed help from a poor man in order to purchase an indulgence, mocks God. God's commandments are to be esteemed above those of the Church, as gold and precious stones are to be preferred to wood and stubble.

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[1] Weimar, ii., 69 *sqq.*

"A man who swears, curses, slanders, or refuses his neighbour needed assistance is much worse than one who eats meat or does not fast on Friday. Nevertheless both classes of commandments are to be observed; only it is advisable that to prevent their being placed upon an equal footing, some of the ecclesiastical requirements be abolished in a General Council. That the Roman Church is honoured by God above all others is a matter of no doubt, for there Sts. Peter and Paul and forty-six popes, besides many hundred thousand martyrs, have shed their blood. Even though matters might be better at Rome, nevertheless no reason can justify one in separating from this Church. Nay, the worse it is the more should one adhere to it. No sin or evil can be imagined, for the sake of which the bonds of love should be sundered and spiritual unity divided. But as to the power and sovereignty of the Roman See, and as to how far it extends, the learned must decide."

Such was the presentation of the case made by Luther in fulfilment of his promise to Miltitz.

But the efforts of the papal nuncio were fruitless. At the beginning of May he invited Luther to Coblentz, where the Archbishop of Treves would hear the case; but, in the absence of an invitation from the Archbishop himself, and of any approval of the propositions of Miltitz by the Pope, he declined to take it into consideration. Another barrier was the presence of Cajetan, whom Luther regarded as disqualified from any participation in the arbitration, since he had prejudged the case at Augsburg. "I doubt," writes Luther, "whether he be a Catholic Christian." A later attempt, in October, to bring

DR. JOHN ECK.

TRADITIONAL PORTRAIT.

Luther before the Archbishop at Liebenwerda failed by the absolute prohibition of the Elector after Luther had responded that he was ready.

Circumstances had changed. The agreement of mutual silence awaiting an arbitration had been broken by the champions of the Papacy.

Two habitual agitators, both fond of controversy and ambitious of fame, one on the side of Rome and the other on the side of Luther, Eck and Carlstadt, could not be suppressed. With Luther, Eck's controversy had ceased with the latter's apology; and, as neither had published his paper, there was no reason for its renewal. But Carlstadt, who had changed from an unfriendly critic to a radical and injudicious advocate of Luther's course, had posted up theses attacking Eck, which occasioned much irritation and wrangling. Eck proposed a public discussion, and Carlstadt eagerly assented. Luther, while not regarding himself involved, was favourable to the plan, " in order that there might be an end of the dispute and the writing of books," that the world might see that theologians not only can fight, but can also come to an agreement. Ingolstadt, Eck's home, being in the near neighbourhood of Augsburg, Luther, during his appearance before Cajetan, had private conferences with Eck, in which the arrangements for the proposed discussion were considered, as Carlstadt had requested. The Wittenberg theologians invited Eck to meet Carlstadt in their University; but he declined the invitation, expressing a preference for Cologne, Paris, or Rome, where the discussion would attract

more attention; but to this Luther objected. Finally, either Erfurt or Leipzig was agreed upon, and Carlstadt leaving the choice to Eck, the latter was chosen. A joint letter from the two disputants requesting the hospitality of the University of Leipzig met with a cold reception. The professors dreaded having their academic calm disturbed by what they apprehended might be a furious storm. The Bishop of Merseburg, within whose jurisdiction Leipzig lay, supported them in their opposition. But their protests were disregarded by Duke George, who was anxious that the opportunity should be used to bring his University into prominence, and who was annoyed at the indolence and want of enterprise shown by his scholars.

As he had issued the challenge, Eck published, six months in advance, the theses which he would make the basis of the discussion. Luther, receiving them shortly after his conference with Miltitz, was astonished to find that the subjects of controversy with Carlstadt were almost entirely ignored, and that Eck, quoting passage after passage from Luther's own writings, declared himself ready to refute them. His indignation was thoroughly aroused because of the underhanded manner in which the attack was made. No other course was open than to immediately announce his readiness to respond. All obligations to silence were binding only if mutually observed. Cajetan could soon have silenced Eck, if his theses had not met his approval. First in an open letter to Carlstadt, and then in a series of counter-theses, Luther exposes Eck's duplicity

and repels his propositions. From that time it is manifest that the focus of any discussion between them must be in the closing thesis; Eck affirming: "We deny the assertion that the Roman Church was not superior to other churches before the time of Sylvester; but we acknowledge him who has the see and faith of St. Peter, as the perpetual successor of St. Peter, and the general vicar of Christ"; and Luther:

"That the Roman Church is superior to all others is proved from the most silly decrees of the Roman pontiffs who have been born within the last four hundred years; against which is the approved history of fifteen hundred years, the text of the Holy Scripture, and the decree of the Council of Nice, the most holy of all councils."[1]

With reference to the discussion, he undertook the most thorough historical investigations which the numerous engagements of that winter, crowded with work, would admit. His daily lectures in the University, the attendance upon the daily devotional services, his daily expositions to children of the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, the publication in April of the first part of his *Commentary on the Psalms*, the preparation of his renowned explanation of the Epistle to the Galatians, and his *Meditations on the Passion of Christ*, all of which belong to this period, together with his incessant correspondence, left so little time, that the preparation

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, ii., 17.

of a treatise on the power of the Pope would have seemed out of the question. On this topic he also carried on a correspondence with Duengersheim, one of the Leipzig theologians, to whom he wrote:

"With you and Eck it is customary to accept the statements of all the Fathers, and to interpret the words of Scripture by those of the Fathers, as though they preferred to draw us to themselves rather than to Scripture. My custom, however, is, following the example of Augustine, to trace the streams to their fountain."[1]

The *Resolutio* of Luther, which issued from the press cotemporaneously with the Leipzig discussion for fear that he might not be allowed to appear there, sets the two concluding theses to be considered in the debate over against each other, treats of the Scriptural passages generally quoted in support of the Pope's supremacy, and then enters into the examination of its historical foundations.[2] In this treatise Luther affirms that the power of the keys belongs not to the Pope, but to the Church, and that the Church is not the hierarchy, but the communion of saints. The study of this earlier brochure is necessary for those who desire to understand the appendix to the Schmalkald Articles, the material for which appears here in a crude form.

Much difficulty was experienced by Luther in securing the consent of Duke George to his appearance at Leipzig and participation in the disputation.

[1] De Wette, 1 : 220; *cf.* p. 280 *sq.*

[2] Weimar, ii., 180 *sqq.*; *Op. var. arg.*, iii., 293 *sqq.*

The matter was finally arranged by giving the safe-conduct to Carlstadt, and all who would accompany him. Thus he entered Leipzig, as he said, "under Carlstadt's wings." As the time approaches, he is prepared for the conflict by a sense of his unworthiness and sinfulness that almost completely overwhelms him. He pours forth his heart to his friend, the prior Lange, and asks his prayers. Meanwhile, in view of the rage of his enemies, he writes: "Rome glows for my destruction, and in derision I freeze."

On Friday, June 24th, a notable procession entered Leipzig, with Carlstadt in the first vehicle, immediately followed by Luther and Melanchthon, Amsdorf, Agricola, Lange, and two hundred Wittenberg students, with spears and halberds, who attended them. It was regarded a bad omen for Carlstadt when his carriage broke down almost at the gate, precipitating him into the mud, and compelling Luther to take the first place in the line as it passed through the streets. No such formal welcome greeted them as had been accorded Eck on the two preceding days. The intense interest in the discussion, however, was evidenced by the streams of ecclesiastics and others that poured into the city. Although Eck was reluctant, it was agreed that notaries should be employed to take down all that was said, a process which at that time was very tedious. Carlstadt also assented to Eck's proposition that nothing should be published unless it had been approved by a board of censors, but Luther withheld his agreement until the last moment,

when, at the urgent request of friends, he yielded the point.[1]

The hall of the University being too small for the audience, the Elector devoted the reception-room of his castle to the purpose. On Monday, June 27th, the disputation was opened with the most elaborate formalities. At seven o'clock in the morning the representatives of the two sides met in the University, from which they proceeded in pairs, a Wittenberger and a Leipzig man together, to St. Thomas's Church, where Mass was celebrated with a musical program of unusual excellence. Repairing thence to the castle, they found it guarded by seventy-five Leipzig citizens, who remained on duty throughout the disputation. The hall was festally adorned. Four notaries and thirty reporters were prepared for their duty. The morning was consumed by an address on "The Proper Mode of Disputing" by Mosellanus, one of the professors. The address ended, the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was sung on bended knees, and the audience dismissed for the noon intermission.

In the afternoon the discussion began. Eck and Carlstadt devoted an entire week to discussing the question of the freedom of the will. Cotemporaries have left graphic descriptions of the two contestants. Mosellanus, who made the introductory address, describes Eck as a man of powerful frame, with a square chest, a stentorian voice, and a countenance

[1] Documents pertaining to Leipzig disputation in Loescher, iii., 214–556; official report as recorded by notaries in Weimar, ii., 250–384; *Op. var. arg.*, iii., 18–217; Walch, xv., 999–1492.

that would be taken rather for that of a butcher than of a theologian.[1] His strength lay in his remarkable memory rather than in acuteness of perception or logical order. "Incredible audacity, covered with rare cunning,"[2] marked his conduct throughout. Carlstadt, on the other hand, was of small stature, swarthy complexion, and weak and disagreeable voice, with hesitating delivery, and a fiery temper. Objecting to the use of books, from which Carlstadt was prepared to make citations, and sustained in this by the judges, Eck swept everything before him by his ponderous volubility. All evidence being ruled out that had not been committed to memory, the contest ceased to be one of facts, and became nothing more than a mnemonic tournament. The week was wasted in a mere war of words, Amsdorf, an eye-witness, asserting that Eck ended by agreeing with Carlstadt, and claiming to have forced the latter to his position. With astonishment Melanchthon looked on, while the oppressive heat and the tedious talk put a large part of the audience to sleep.

"Here I first learned," he writes, "what the ancients mean by playing the sophist. Wonderful was the flourish and tragic manner in which everything was done, and as a consequence, it is not surprising that nothing of importance was accomplished. The Holy Spirit loves silence, in which He steals into our hearts and makes His home with those intent, not upon vainglory, but upon learning the truth. The Bride of Christ does not

[1] Letter of Mosellanus in Loescher, iii., 248.

[2] Loescher, iii., 238.

stand upon the porch, but brings her spouse into the house of her mother. Nor do any rays of heavenly wisdom illumine us until we have first been purified by the cross, and made dead to the elements of the world." [1]

Two holidays relieved the hearers of that wearisome discussion, on one of which, June 29th, the day of SS. Peter and Paul, Luther preached, at the invitation of the Duke, in the hall in which the discussions were held, all the churches of Leipzig being closed to him, and the chapel of the castle being insufficient to accommodate the audience. Taking for his text the gospel for the day, Matt. xvi., 13–19, without an introduction he immediately entered upon the discussion of the topics that were uppermost in all minds. "This gospel," he began, "comprises all matters involved in the disputations; for it treats of two things: First, the grace of God and our free will; and, secondly, the power of St. Peter and the keys." Then in brief, clear, and forcible sentences, avoiding altogether the language of the schools, he goes to the very heart of the subjects, speaking in an entirely different tone from either of the two contestants, as one who had learned to treat of these questions from an inner life-struggle, and who spoke from overpowering conviction, instead of for a display of learning, or of accomplishments as a debater. Finding the answer to the question concerning the free will in the words: "Flesh and blood have not revealed it unto thee," he declares that if we want to learn how to become godly, the very first thing is to despair

[1] Loescher, iii., 218; *C. R.*, 1: 92.

of self, and that the Christian's whole life consists in a constant renunciation of his own thoughts, words, and works, and a relying solely upon Christ, as in Ps. xlii., 1. The question of the power of the Pope, he says, does not concern the common man, but only that of how this power is to be used to edification. The power of the keys was given to St. Peter; not, however, in his own person, but in that of the Church.

"It is given you and me for the consolation of our consciences. St. Peter or a priest is only the servant of the keys. The Church is the bride whom he is to serve with the keys, as we see in the daily practice, whereby the sacrament is administered to all who desire it of the priests. . . . The power of the keys, therefore, aids not the priests, but the sinful and timid consciences, who there receive grace through faith."[1]

This was not only in anticipation of the discussion that was soon to follow with Eck, but also indicated the far-reaching bearing of the entire controversy upon the interests of the people, as well as of theologians. Eck sought to counteract the effect by sermons preached in the churches of the city.

Excited discussions were occurring at every place where men met. Special policemen were required to guard the lodging-places of the Wittenberg students. The Leipzig professors, with one or two exceptions, took pains to show that their sympathies were with Eck. The Duke attempted to make up for their lack of hospitality by inviting the three

[1] Weimar, ii., 241 *sqq.*

contestants to dine with him. At Luther's entrance into one of the churches, it is reported the consecrated elements were hastily removed.

The feeling reached its climax when, on Monday, July 4th, Luther came forward to discuss the primacy of the Pope. The Leipzig professor, above cited, notes his medium stature, slender person, emaciated by study and anxieties, prominent bones, acute and clear voice, wonderful learning and knowledge of Scripture, his readiness and eloquence in public debate, the entire absence of everything stoical and supercilious, his affability, geniality, and cheerfulness in private intercourse, with the criticism that, as many thought, in his attacks he was more acrimonious than was becoming a theologian.[1] As he ascended the platform, he wore a silver ring, and held a bouquet in his hand, which he so frequently applied to his nostrils, as the discussion progressed, that some suggested that the devil was hidden among the flowers. Agricola acted as his amanuensis, while Melanchthon was at hand to advise him between the sessions. Thoroughly loyal, so far, to the Pope, just as to his temporal sovereign, but regarding both as deriving their authority only from human law, Luther began by expressing his regret that a question, which he feared might derogate from the honour due His Holiness, had been so unnecessarily agitated by Eck's uncalled-for attack.

[1] Loescher, iii., 247: "Martinus statura est mediocri, corpore macilento, curis pariter et studiis exhausto, sicut propius intuenti omnia pœne ossa liceat dinumerare. . . . In congressibus festivus, jucundus, alacris et securus ubique, semper læta facie florens."

Disputatio do-
mini Johannis Eccij et
Da. Martini Luther in
studio Lipsensi futura.

TITLE-PAGE OF ECK'S "LEIPZIG ARTICLES."

He also regretted the absence of those persons who had so often charged him with heresy, and who, nevertheless, when the case was to be considered, were without sufficient interest in it to be present. Eck in reply proceeded to attack Luther's thesis, that the text of Holy Scripture, and the accepted history of 1100 years, are opposed to the supremacy of the Church of Rome over other churches. The Church Militant, he urges, must be conformed to the model of the Church Triumphant; as the latter has a Head, so also must the former. Luther replies that he has never denied this. Eck asks: "Who, then, is the monarch, if the Bishop of Rome be not?" "No one but Christ," answers Luther, "and this I affirm by divine authority, 1 Cor. xv., 25; Matt. xxviii., 20; Acts ix., 5. They who would expel Christ from the Church Militant to the Church Triumphant are not to be heard, since His kingdom is one of faith."[1] In support of this, he entered upon a long argument from Holy Scripture, and cited and commented upon numerous passages from Augustine and other Fathers, but Eck objects that Luther has just prepared a book on the subject, while his many engagements have prevented him from making such elaborate preparations, and then wrestles as well as he can with the patristic citations concerning the original identity of bishops and presbyters, the equality of the apostles, etc.[2] The discussion begins to grow heavy, as it enters into the exegesis of particular texts, and the explanation, in their connection, of the passages quoted by each

[1] Weimar, ii., 257. [2] *Ib.*, 260.

side from the Fathers. But the interest becomes intense when, on the morning of the second day, Eck ends one of his speeches with the words:

"I beg pardon of the venerable Father if I am severe towards the Bohemians (I speak not of Christians, but of schismatics) as enemies of the Church; and that, in the present disputation, I am mindful of them, since the *Conclusio* itself and that which was declared yesterday, viz., that the primacy of the Church is established by human law, in my insignificant judgment, favours very much their errors. This is presented at the present time in order that we may hear the opinion and explanation of the Reverend Father."[1]

Luther was indignant. He always had disapproved, he said, and would disapprove of the schismatic course of the Bohemians as a violation of the supreme divine law, viz., that of love. "But why does not the learned Doctor make use of his memory and talents in refuting their errors? It is remarkable that, while there are so many who make charges against the Bohemians, there is no one who, to the glory of the Roman Church, has deemed it worth while to refute them."[2] "It is certain that among the articles of John Hus, there are many that are absolutely Christian and evangelical, which the Church Universal cannot condemn, as, *e. g.*, that there is but one universal Church."[3] At this point Duke George, who had followed the disputation with the deepest interest, cried out: "Plague on

[1] Weimar, ii., 275. [2] *Ib.*, 278. [3] *Ib.*, 279.

it!" Luther had aroused the prejudices even of those not hostile to him; but he calmly continued that, by the condemnation of such a statement, the article of the Creed, "I believe that there is a Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints," also was condemned. But passing by Wiclif and Hus, the non-acceptance of the supremacy of the Pope by the Greek Church proved that it was not an essential of salvation.

"I know," he continued, "that Gregory Nazianzen, Basil the Great, Epiphanius Cyprius, and innumerable other Greek bishops are saved, and yet they did not hold this article. Neither is it in the power of the Roman pontiff to frame new articles of faith, but only to judge according to those already framed. Nor can any faithful Christian be compelled to anything, beyond the Holy Scriptures, which constitute, properly speaking, the divine law, unless a new and approved revelation be added. Aye, by divine law we are forbidden believing anything except what is proved either from Scripture or by manifest revelation.[1] . . . If then the distinguished doctor presses me with the example of the Bohemians, not yet a hundred years old, I press upon him that of the Eastern Church, the greater[2] part of the Universal Church, fourteen hundred years old. If they be heretics because they do not acknowledge the Roman pontiff, I must accuse my opponent of being a heretic for daring to assert that so many saints throughout the Church Universal are lost."

The opportunity for which Eck had been seeking

[1] Weimar, ii., 279.

[2] *Ib.*, 280: *Orientalem ecclesiam meliorem partem universalis ecclesiæ.*

was now his. Luther had pronounced some of the articles of Hus most Christian and evangelical, notwithstanding the fact that the Council of Constance had condemned them! Hitherto he had appealed from the authority of the Pope to that of councils; but now even councils are pronounced fallible. "If the Reverend Father," said Eck, "believes that a council can err, he is to me a heathen and a publican."[1] The wonderful tact of the Ingolstadt professor was equalled only by his coolness and bland courtesy, which contrasts favourably with the violent language Luther occasionally used. As Ranke has noted, this disputation was held not far from the borders of Bohemia, in a district that had suffered severely from the Hussite war, in a university founded to oppose the teachings of Hus, and before an audience of princes and others whose fathers had fought in that war. No affiliation could have been more unpopular. The liberal party in the Church had placed great emphasis upon the authority of the Council of Constance in its antagonism to the Pope; but against them also, Luther was now arrayed. The calamity was, however, only a seeming one. Luther had been led in the heat of the conflict to the logical result of his premises; and although at first struggling against it, as he had struggled at every previous step forward, he gladly accepted the consequences, for in so doing he believed that he

[1] Weimar, ii., 311; Loescher, iii., 398: "Hoc dico vobis, reverende pater, si creditis concilium legitime congregatum errare et errasse, estis mihi sicut ethnicus et publicanus."

LUTHER.

FROM THE TITLE-PAGE OF LUTHER'S TREATISE "THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH," 1520.

was following the only course that God's Word left open for him.

The remainder of the disputation was of comparatively little importance. Five days had been devoted to the discussion of the Papacy; four more were given to purgatory, indulgences, and penance. On indulgences, Eck was very moderate and conciliatory. The only item of moment, during those days, was the answer made by Luther to a quotation from the Second Book of Maccabees, in which he draws the distinction between the canonical and apocryphal books. Luther closed the long debate with the words:

"I regret that the Doctor penetrates no more deeply into the meaning of Scripture than a spider does into water; nay, he seems to flee from its face as the devil flees from the cross. Wherefore, with all due respect to the Fathers, I prefer the authority of Scripture, which I commend to future judges."[1]

After a further discussion for a day or two with Carlstadt, the disputation ended when the Duke asked for the room in which it was held for the reception of guests. Eck, with indefatigable perseverance, would have been glad had the discussion continued indefinitely. An adjournment was reached on the 15th or 16th of July, copies of the proceedings having been sent for arbitration to the faculties of Paris and Erfurt. Eck insisting that the Augustinians in the Erfurt Faculty should not be allowed to participate in the decision, Luther made similar ob-

[1] Weimar, ii., 382.

jection to the Dominicans and Franciscans, and finally made the astonishing proposition that the members of the other faculties should be included among the judges, thus asserting the rights of the laity, in accordance with the statement he had made during the discussion, " that a layman who has the Scriptures is more to be trusted than Pope and council without them." These demands were not granted. Erfurt, owing to the presence of John Lange as one of the professors, and probably averse to a controversy with Luther, never responded. Paris published its decision, but not until two years later, and then, not upon the discussion at Leipzig, but upon passages in Luther's works. Cologne and Louvain hastened, however, to give their decisions.

Opinions as to the results were very conflicting, and varied with the standard adopted for the decision, and with the standpoint of the critic. In clever diplomacy, Eck had shown himself superior to Luther, but in candour and earnestness, as well as in knowledge of Scripture and submission to its declarations, Luther was the master. With a heavy heart, Luther left Leipzig, while Carlstadt was still in controversy with Eck. Instead of the peace that he had hoped might ensue, he found himself thrust forward still further into the battle. But what grieved him most was that, in all the tedious proceedings, so little attention was given to the subjects belonging to the very centre of Christianity, as that of the justification of sinful man before God, on which he was ever ready to speak, but for whose treatment there had been neither oc-

casion nor interest. His object in going before the conclusion of the debate was to meet his spiritual father, Staupitz, at Grimma, and be refreshed by his sympathy and advice.

Numerous accounts of the debate were published by eye-witnesses, or by those to whom they wrote. Eck, also, who, in his elation, had remained at Leipzig nine days after the adjournment, boasting much that he had triumphed, was determined to carry the controversy to a still greater length. To meet all misrepresentations, Luther prepared what may be called a commentary upon his theses discussed in Leipzig, with a statement of the argument as presented by both sides.[1] No attempt is made to recede from the position to which in the heat of the contest Eck had forced him. On the contrary, he shows the Scriptural foundations on which it rests. Eck's vindictiveness is shown in a letter to the Elector, asking that Luther's books be burned, and in an acrimonious attack upon Melanchthon for an account of the transactions at Leipzig, which the latter had sent to Oecolampadius. The able answer was Melanchthon's first attempt at polemics. A satire against Eck, published at Nuremberg, was distasteful to Luther, since he regarded the subject as too serious for such flippant treatment. Jerome Emser, of Dresden, having attempted to prejudice the Bohemians against Luther, because of his disclaimer to the charge that he approved their course, and having represented him as having condemned them without qualification, he handled this mischief-

[1] Weimar, ii., 388 *sqq.*

maker without gloves in a protracted controversy. The offence was all the more irritating, if the statement be correct that during the proceedings at Leipzig the Bohemians had held public prayers for him. Towards them he was greatly drawn by the new conception of the nature of the Church that had suddenly come to him at Leipzig. He began to study the writings of Hus. A few months later he writes: "Hus's doctrine I have already taught without knowing it; so has Staupitz. We have all been unconsciously Hussites, as are also Paul and Augustine." He predicts that the judgments of God must fall upon a world in which the doctrine of the Gospel, for over a hundred years, has been branded, as though condemned of God.

Another step forward was made in the open repudiation of auricular confession in his answer to certain articles of the Jueterbock Franciscans, which had been inspired, if not composed, by Eck.[1] With every treatise written Luther's attitude toward the Papacy becomes more decided. From his discovery of the contradiction between the Papacy and the Holy Scriptures, he has at last reached the conviction that this contradiction is irreconcilable. While he is thus progressing from the side of the practical demands of the Christian life, Melanchthon is reaching the same position from the scientific side in his work of reducing to system and tracing the Scriptural grounds of what has thus far been attained. Every fruit of their studies and struggles is immediately applied to practice, and is made a part of their

[1] Weimar, ii., 621 *sqq.*

lives; for they were not mere theorisers. To the world, Luther's figure as a controversialist overshadows all else; but at Wittenberg, it was only incidental to what appeared to be, if possible, the more engrossing duties of the conscientious teacher, the eloquent preacher, the faithful witness, the vigilant shepherd of souls, the most considerate and obliging of friends. In every great crisis of his life, the Psalms were his favourite study; and, in preparing his lectures upon them after his return from Leipzig, he found refuge from the strife of tongues. In his lectures on Galatians, he gives expression to the faith of his heart on the central truths of Christianity, in language that has made them a favourite in many lands and tongues and ages, and to men of diverse creeds. In his *Tessaradecas*, or *Fourteen Consolations for the Weary and Heavy Laden*,[1] he shows the power of the Gospel to heal a broken heart. Prepared for the Elector in his illness, he borrows the manuscript afterwards when he needs the consolation he has offered to another, but cannot recall. In sermons on the sacraments, he unfolds a deeper meaning of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Repentance than had hitherto been taught, or he had previously entertained.[2] In his sermon on "Usury,"[3] he endeavours to present a barrier to one of the most flagrant social evils of the time, occasioned by the encroachments of the great mercantile companies upon the previously simple business relations between man and man. Whatever was his

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, iv., 84 *sqq.*
[2] Weimar, ii., 709, 724, 738.
[3] Erlangen, 20: 89 *sqq.*

opinion afterward, at this time he believed that Matt. v., 42, forbids absolutely the taking of interest. Thus absorbed in the consideration of the pressing questions of the day, he was ever ready, as his correspondence shows, to look after the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of his people. His influence with the Elector and others in high station was continually sought, and never refused where the applicant was worthy. Replying to a request of Spalatin in December, 1519, he writes:

"The work is so great and I am so burdened! The lectures on the Psalms demand the entire time of a man; the sermons to the congregation on the Gospels and Genesis, that of another; my various monastic duties, that of a third; and the work you have asked, that of a fourth, to say nothing of the many letters that I must write, and other engagements, as my intercourse with friends, that steal entirely too much time."[1]

Among these duties, his lectures to his students and his sermons were regarded by him as the most important. Amidst labours prosecuted with such energy, the number of students constantly grew, crowding to Wittenberg from all quarters.

[1] De Wette, 1: 378.

LUTHER'S SEAL.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS; NEW ALLIES; THE THREE GREAT TREATISES OF 1520

WITH scarcely less interest than the professors, the Elector Frederick watched the progress of his University, and sought in every way to promote its advancement. He applied himself personally to the work of securing the best teachers, and defrayed the expense of publishing what they wrote. Under the influence of Staupitz, having himself become an earnest student of the Bible, he had an excellent spiritual adviser in his private secretary, Spalatin, Luther's constant correspondent. The important position occupied by the Elector in the empire after the death of Maximilian has been already noticed. For over five months there was an interregnum. Maximilian had died without realising his ambition of securing the succession to his grandson Charles. There was at once a struggle between Charles of Spain and Francis, King of France, for the vacant throne.

All the influence of the Papacy was exerted on the side of Francis, as the Pope feared the power of the House of Hapsburg. Only one alternative was presented, and that was the election of Frederick, a truly German prince. But this plan encountered an insurmountable obstacle in the absolute refusal of Frederick to allow the use of his name. He regarded himself too old to undertake an office, in which the title amounted to nothing, unless supported by power previously enjoyed. On the second day of the disputation at Leipzig, June 28, 1519, the election was held at Frankfort-on-the-Main. There had been the most lavish use of money to determine the result. But the title was gained, not by bribery, but by the influence of Frederick, who supported the King of Spain, because of his German blood, a claim which Francis could not boast. Erasmus wrote (October 17, 1519) to the Bishop of Rochester:

"The Duke of Saxony was offered the empire, and refused it the day before Charles's election, and he but for the Duke would never have obtained it. He was offered 30,000 florins, but would not accept them. When he was urged to allow 10,000 to be distributed among his retinue, he replied: 'They may take them, if they please, but if any one touches so much as a crown he does not remain in my service to-morrow.' Next day he mounted his horse and departed." [1]

[1] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Arranged and catalogued by J. S. Brewer, M.A., London, 1867, iii., Part I., 367.

FREDERICK THE WISE, ELECTOR OF SAXONY.

FROM A PAINTING BY ALBRECHT DÜRER, 1524.

When the electors assembled in St. Bartholomew's Church, and the formal vote was taken, Charles was unanimously chosen. It was a mortifying defeat for Pope Leo X., who had favoured Francis I.

A youth of only nineteen years, Charles found himself the chosen ruler of an empire such as sovereign had never before governed. The Netherlands, Spain, Austria, Germany, Navarre, Naples, the Sicilies, and the vast regions opened by the discoveries of Columbus, as far west as the Pacific, and comprising Mexico, the West Indies, and all South America, were all put under him. Never were such material wealth, such indomitable enterprise, or such efficient resources at the service of monarch. The Pope might well dread the possibility of his displeasure. But the heavy responsibilities were accompanied by the most perplexing problems ever given one in his station. The vaster the empire, the more liable is it to disintegration, and the greater the necessity of ruling the subjects with such tact and conciliation that they do not feel that they are being governed. The vaster the empire, the more numerous the points where it must be defended from external enemies, and the greater the danger of their coalition. The Turks were a constant menace. The King of France was ready to take up arms against him. Henry VIII. of England was prepared to take advantage of any blunder that could be turned to his injury or loss; and his spiritual father, the Pope, had to be placed beneath the ever-watchful eyes of a trusted ambassador at Rome, as the archives at Simancas show, in order that every

significant motion and expression of feeling might be promptly reported, and subtle diplomacy be met by diplomacy equally subtle. The restiveness of the peasantry, the nobles, the free cities, and the general revolt against the former order of things, had to be treated with the utmost patience, and with tender hands. It was thus manifest that, with the Elector who had decided his election on the side of Luther, Charles, loyal Catholic though he was, would have to proceed slowly, or a fire might be kindled that would be past all control. Four months intervened before his signing of the capitulation, whereby he took upon himself the office to which he had been elected, and his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, October 23, 1519. The motto that he had inscribed upon his shield, "*Nondum*," "Not yet," was prophetic of his deliberate and hesitating career. Thus a long period was afforded in which the movement begun by Luther had opportunity to spread and to develop its principles inwardly with ever-increasing clearness.

Allies came to Luther from an unexpected quarter. The interference of the Papacy in the election of the Emperor, and the shameless bribery used in the interests of the French King excited the national feeling among the knights. Four horsemen are reported to have entered a house near Mayence, where one of the papal legates was staying, and to have threatened to expel him from the country, if the political machinations on behalf of Francis did not cease. Francis von Sickingen, the most influential of the knights, was preparing to force the election

of Charles, if the opposite party had any prospect of success. To Luther they were attracted by the impression his protests were making upon the papal power. Their interest in him was political and not religious. In some the knight and the humanist were combined. The humanists have been divided into two classes, viz.: those who continued to be students to the end of their lives, and who in quiet seclusion were constantly seeking to deepen their knowledge, representatives of a truly scientific spirit, of whom Melanchthon and his preceptor, Reuchlin, were types; and those of a more superficial nature, who immediately went forth to apply their attainments to the criticism of existing institutions and theories, ceaseless agitators, without firm and decided convictions, yielding nothing but negative results. Of the latter class, Ulrich von Hutten is a brilliant example. To such men, Luther, at the beginning of his career, was unattractive. Despising all monks, the earliest discussions, in their opinion, only indicated another fruitless controversy among ecclesiastics. But the Leipzig disputation added to their regard for Melanchthon, and inclined them, so far as their outward relations were concerned, to enlist in Luther's cause. Crotus, the joint author with Hutten of the sarcastic *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, had been a fellow-student of Luther's at Erfurt, and read with avidity his writings, as they came into his hands in Italy, and for a time fell beneath the spiritual influence of Luther's words, confessing his acceptance of the doctrine of justification by faith, and renewing in cordial letters his ac-

quaintance of former days. Hutten, of ancient family, first a monk, afterwards a soldier, a restless attendant upon various universities, an accomplished and productive writer, crowned poet-laureate of Germany by Maximilian at the Diet of Augsburg, where Luther had appeared before Cajetan, had become an uncompromising foe of the Papacy, and with material derived from his frequent visits to Italy had directed his severe satire against it. Singularly enough, the Elector of Mayence, who had been back of Tetzel in the indulgence traffic, regarded Hutten with favour, possibly with some expectation that, as the primate of the German Church, the weakening of the Roman influence might not be to his disadvantage. With unparallelled effrontery, Hutten had dedicated to Leo X. his republication of Laurentius Valla's exposure of the fraud of the Donation of Constantine, a favourite authority for the temporal claims of the Papacy. When Luther read this in February, 1520, he was pleased that evidence was being produced on his side from such a quarter. The plans were then in contemplation, which afterwards ripened, by which Hutten and Sickingen hoped to overthrow the bishops, as well as the temporal lords, and to establish the German Empire upon such a basis that the Emperor would be supreme. In the very beginning of 1520 Hutten wrote, at the request of Sickingen, to Melanchthon, offering Luther a home at the castle of Sickingen, in case he found his surroundings at Wittenberg insecure. While nothing but encouragement could be drawn from such un-

ULRICH VON HUTTEN.

FROM A CONTEMPORARY WOOD-CUT.

solicited help, nevertheless Luther soon saw that they were contending against the Pope with different weapons from those which he was employing.

"I would not," he said, "have the Gospel maintained by violence and bloodshed. By the Word the world has been overcome; by the Word the Church has been preserved; by the Word it will also be restored; and as Antichrist has gained his power without violence, so he will fall without violence."[1]

The biting sarcasm of Hutten may be contrasted with Luther's letters, most humble and respectful, until all hope of tolerance for the evangelical faith had to be abandoned. For the vital questions involved in the controversy, the two knights and their followers had no sympathy; but would have been glad to have used Luther as an instrument to accomplish their own purposes. Despite all this, however, their writings were of service in diffusing the dissatisfaction that found its end in the hearing of the Word as taught by the Reformers.

Among the humanists who contented themselves with the more peaceful pursuits of literary leisure, next to Erasmus, whose relations to Luther will claim more ample treatment hereafter, the most prominent was Wilibald Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, author of the satire upon Eck for his part in the Leipzig disputation, and who, like Crotus, Billicanus, and a number of others, ultimately turned away from Luther, when the real issue of the conflict was understood. But from their ranks Luther gained

[1] De Wette, 1: 543.

the important accession of the two jurists, Lawrence Spengler of Nuremberg, and Justus Jonas, rector of the University of Erfurt, afterwards a theologian, and his colleague at Wittenberg.

Everything begins now to point towards a crisis. Eck, piqued by the attacks upon him, and indefatigable when aroused, goes, in February, 1520, to Rome, to prosecute his case before the Pope. He is supported by the decisions of the faculties of Paris, Louvain, and Cologne. The Elector, conscious of the peril, urges Luther to moderate the language of his public utterances. Luther again writes to the Archbishop of Mayence, from whom he receives a courteous reply, and to the Bishop of Merseburg, restating the real grounds of the controversy.

"I call the Lord Jesus Christ, my future Judge, to witness that I cannot teach otherwise than I have taught. Nor am I conscious of having taught anything that does not concern Christ and the commandments of God. What am I to do? Gain I am not seeking: nor, were I seeking it, could I find it in the hatred of so many: much less glory in such infamy. I would be the most insane of all in pursuing these matters, because of which I suffer loss instead of gain; confusion instead of glory; censure, violence, and death, instead of safety and life: and if I err, after these evils I must endure eternal fire."[1]

The Pope hesitates about acting. The Spanish ambassador writes to Charles from Rome, that, as the Pope "is exceedingly afraid of Friar Martin," "who

[1] De Wette, 1: 398 *sqq.*

is said to be a great scholar," it would be a good plan for the Emperor to show Luther all possible favour, in order thus to gain more concessions from His Holiness. [1]

But diplomacy was unavailing. The only question seemed to be, as to which of the two sides should break the temporary peace. While Eck, aided by Cajetan and Aleander, is plotting at Rome, Luther is diligently at work on the first formal treatise on the subjects of controversy, which thus far had found consideration only in pamphlets, chiefly of ephemeral value. The Bull against Luther was completed June 15, 1520, but before it could be circulated, he had anticipated it with his address: "*To His Imperial Majesty and the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of the Christian Church.*" [2] This his friend Lange termed "the trumpet call to battle." Viewed in the light of to-day, it may be entitled: "*The Responsibility and Duty of the Laity in Ecclesiastical Affairs.*" "The time for silence has passed, and the time of speaking has come," is the opening note. The universal priesthood of believers and the equal rights and dignity of the laity with the clergy are its great themes. The Papacy, he says,

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[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Henry VIII.), ii., 305, London, 1866.

[2] Erlangen, 21 : 274 *sqq.* We have quoted, with some slight revision, the excellent translation in *First Principles of the Reformation*, which contains "The Ninety-five Theses," "Address to the Nobility," "On Christian Liberty," and "The Babylonish Captivity," edited by Wace and Buchheim, London, 1883; Philadelphia, 1885.

has sought defence behind three walls: 1. The supremacy of the spiritual power. 2. The sole right of the Pope to interpret Holy Scripture. 3. The sole authority of the Pope to convene a general council.

"But there is no difference among Christians save of office alone. We have one baptism, one Gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike by a higher consecration than pope or bishop can give. The bishop's consecration is just as if in the name of the whole congregation, he took one person out of the community, each member of which has equal power, and commanded him to exercise this power for the rest; in the same way as if ten brothers, co-heirs as king's sons, were to choose one from among them to rule over their inheritance: they would all of them still remain kings and have equal power although one is ordered to govern. If a little company of pious Christian laymen were taken prisoners and carried away to a desert, and had not among them a priest consecrated by a bishop, and were there to agree to elect one of them, married or unmarried, and were to order him to baptise, to celebrate the Mass, to absolve, and to preach, this man would be as truly a priest, as if all the bishops and all the popes had consecrated him. A priest, therefore, should be nothing in Christendom but an official: as long as he holds his office, he has precedence over others; if he be deprived of it, he is a peasant and citizen, like the rest. A cobbler, a smith, a peasant, every man has the office and function of his calling, and yet all alike are consecrated priests and bishops, and every man in his office must be useful and beneficial to the rest, that so many kinds of work may be united in one community. To say that the temporal

authority, being inferior to the clergy, dare not punish them, is as though one were to say, the hand may not help, when the eye is suffering. Inasmuch as the temporal power has been ordained of God for the punishment of the bad and the protection of the good, we must let it do its duty throughout the whole Christian Body, without respect of persons, whether it strike popes, bishops, priests, or nuns. Why should your body, life, goods, and honour be free, and not mine, seeing we are equal as Christians and have all received one baptism, faith, Spirit, and all things? If a priest is killed, the country is laid under an interdict. Why not also if a peasant is killed?"

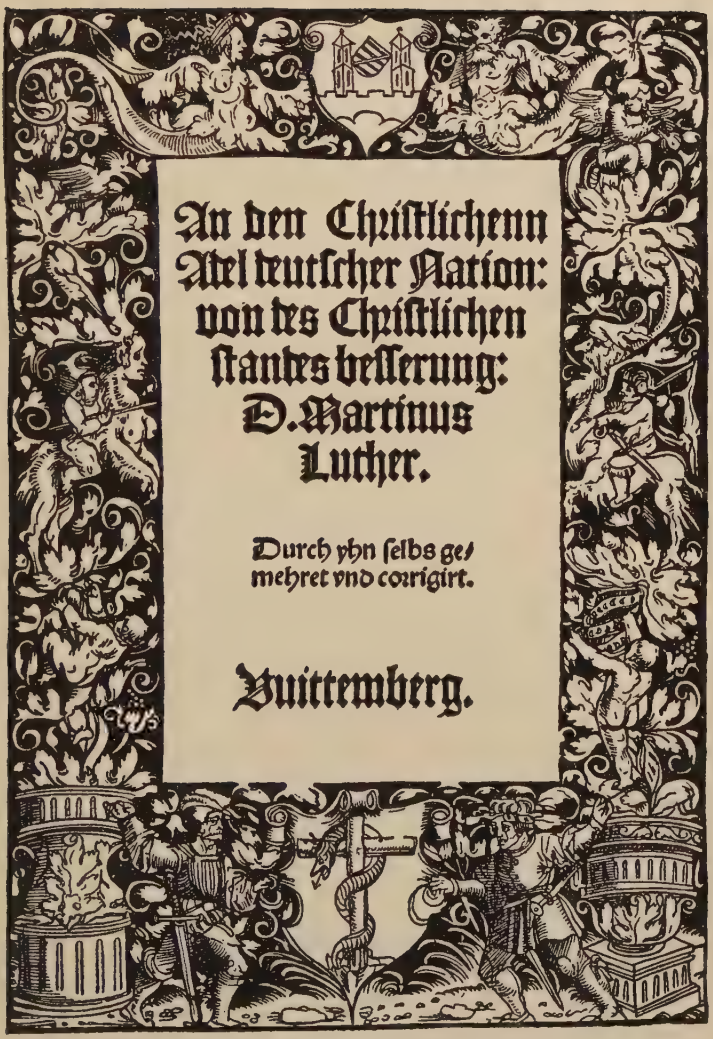
The "second wall," *i. e.*, the claim that to the Pope alone belongs the right to interpret the Holy Scriptures, is attacked by the same argument.

"They must acknowledge that there are pious Christians among us, that have the true faith, spirit, understanding and mind of Christ; why, then, should we reject their word and understanding, and follow a Pope, who has neither understanding nor Spirit? What, then, becomes of St. Paul's words: 'But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man'? (1 Cor. ii., 15). Balaam's ass was wiser than the prophet. If God spake by an ass against a prophet, why should He not speak by a pious man against the Pope?"

"The third wall falls of itself, as soon as the first two have fallen; for if the Pope act contrary to the Scriptures, we are bound to stand by the Scriptures, to punish and constrain him according to Christ's commandment, Matt. xviii., 15–17. If, then, I am to accuse him before the Church, I must call the Church together. When,

therefore, need requires, and the Pope is a cause of offence to Christendom, whoever can best do so, as a faithful member of the whole body, must do what he can to procure a true free council. This no one can do so well as the temporal authorities, especially since they are fellow-Christians, fellow-priests, sharing one spirit and one power in all things; and since they should exercise the office that they have received from God without hindrance whenever it is necessary and useful that it should be exercised. Would it not be most unnatural if a fire were to break out in a city, and every one were to keep still and let it burn on and on, whatever might be burnt, simply because they had not the mayor's authority, or because the fire perhaps broke out at the mayor's house? Is not every citizen bound in this case to rouse and call the rest? How much more should this be done in the spiritual city of Christ, either at the Pope's government or wherever it may be! The like happens if an enemy attacks a town. The first to rouse up the rest earns glory and thanks."

With these principles fixed, he proceeds to the consideration of the matters that should be treated in such a council, and then offers twenty-seven articles concerning the Reformation of the Christian Estate. From beginning to end it is a scathing denunciation of the Papacy, characterised by many eloquent passages and epigrammatic statements. "God cares not for much prayer, but for good prayer." "It is a greater sin to silence God's word and service, than if we were to kill twenty popes at once." "If you try to ride to heaven on the Pope's wax and parchment, your carriage will soon break



TITLE-PAGE OF FIRST EDITION OF LUTHER'S "ADDRESS TO THE GERMAN NOBILITY," 1520.

(SLIGHTLY REDUCED.)

down, and you will fall into Hell." "In baptism, you joined a fraternity, of which Christ, the angels, the saints, and all Christians are members; be true to this, and satisfy it, and you will have fraternities enough." "We should overcome heretics with books, not with fire, as the old Fathers did." "There is nothing more devilishly mischievous than an unreformed university." "I greatly fear the high schools [universities] are nothing but great gates of Hell, unless they diligently study the Holy Scriptures and teach them to the young people." "It is not the number of books that make the learned man, nor much reading; but good books often read, however few, make a man learned in the Scriptures and pious." "If we read nothing but the Fathers and never get from them into the Scriptures, it is as if one should be gazing at the sign-posts, and never follow the road." "Without doubt the greatest misfortune to the Germans is buying on credit. The devil invented this system, and the Pope has done an injury to the whole world by sanctioning it."

This treatise, which, notwithstanding its impassioned tone and caustic, at times even violent, language, was most carefully and deliberately elaborated, must be read, not as the words of an individual, but of the representative of the German people. Unlike the satires of the humanists, it was not merely negative, but offered a positive foundation for a new order of things. In vain Staupitz endeavoured to suppress its publication. The edition of 4000 copies that left the press in August was

insufficient for the demand, and it was republished, both at Leipzig and Strassburg, the same year.

A treatise, written in Latin, for theologians, followed, two months later, in *The Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church.*[1] It is an exhibition of the manner in which the sources of the Christian life had been affected by the corruption, on Rome's part, of the doctrine of the Means of Grace. A critical examination is made of the entire sacramental system of Rome. In the beginning he thanks his enemies for the progress he is making under their attacks. He had in mind only the abuses of indulgences and the Papacy when he began, but now is ready to surrender both. By the Babylonian captivity of the Church, he means the perversion of the nature and use of the sacraments that the Church has suffered. Limiting the sacraments to three, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Repentance, and regarding the latter as not properly a sacrament, but only a return to Baptism, he enters, first, upon a long discussion concerning the Lord's Supper. He insists that the doctrine concerning it must be sought only in the Words of Institution, as found in the Gospels and 1 Corinthians, and declares that not a syllable of the sixth chapter of John refers to it, in connection with which he indicates the distinction between the sacramental and the spiritual eating of Christ's Body. Three abuses of the Lord's Supper he examines at length, viz., the withdrawal of the cup from the laity, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the teaching that

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, v., 13 *sqq.*; Weimar, vi., 484 *sqq.*

it is a sacrifice. The Mass, he says, is the testament of Christ. A testament is the promise of one about to die. The promise of the Mass is that of the forgiveness of sins, made by God, and attested by the death of the Son of God. If the Mass, then, be a promise, we approach it by no works or merits, but only by faith. Nothing but faith, cleaving to this promise, is necessary. The only preparation and lawful use of the Lord's Supper is by faith. For this reason, nothing is more important than that the communicants should hear and meditate upon the words of which the sacrament is the sign and memorial. The receiving of a promise cannot be a good work; neither can such reception be transferred to another, nor can I believe vicariously or for another. The Mass is not a work communicable to others, but for the strengthening of the faith of those receiving it. It is not Baptism that justifies, but faith in the word of promise attending Baptism. "Let us learn to observe the word rather than the sign; faith, rather than the work or use of the sign." "In the sacrament, faith is so necessary that, even without the sacrament, it can save." "The sacrament of baptism, as a sign, is not momentary, but perpetual; for, while the use is transient, the thing signified lasts even to death, nay, to the resurrection at the last day." No pope or bishop has the power of abrogating the liberty in Christ, which is made the believer's in Baptism. The multiplicity of orders, rites, works, etc., is causing men to forget what has been given in their baptism. Monastic vows are a denial of Baptism. By the prayer of the

Church, bringing children to Baptism, they are given faith. Confirmation, marriage, ordination, and extreme unction are shown to have no claim to be regarded as sacraments. He ends the subject with the words:

"We distribute the two sacraments, that Baptism may be for the beginning and the entire course of the Christian life, but the Bread, for its end and for death; and the Christian is exercised with both in this body, until, fully baptised and strengthened, he pass from this world, and be born into the new and eternal world, to sup with Christ in the kingdom of His Father. Then, with the matter of both sacraments fulfilled, Baptism and Bread shall cease."

With this treatise should be read the *Sermon on the Mass*,[1] published earlier in the same year, where Luther draws a very sharp distinction, in popular form, between the hitherto prevalent conception of the sacraments and that to which he has attained. It is an earnest plea for simplicity in the external regulations of public worship, upon the ground, "the less law, the better justice; the fewer commandments, the more good works." The chief thing in worship is declared to be the word of God, and man's chief part is not to bring something to God, but to receive what God brings him. The chief thing in the sacrament is the Word of God; man's part is to receive by faith the promise therein offered.

In striking contrast with the two great polemical

[1] Erlangen, 27: 139 *sqq.*; Weimar, vi., 349 *sqq.*

treatises of this year, was an irenic of such nature that in it the trace of controversy is scarcely perceptible. *The Freedom of a Christian Man*[1] has been called the pearl of his writings,

"perhaps the most beautiful of Luther's writings, more the result of religious contemplation than of theological work, a writing full of deep mystical thoughts, which, notwithstanding its peculiar reverence for the Word of God, and its constant reference to the real relations of life, ever recurs to the world of thought of the mystic."[2]

In it, the Christian experience of Luther finds its expression, apart from and beneath the external conflicts that occupied him, like the deep calm underneath the most tumultuous roar of the ocean. "It is a small book," wrote its author, "and yet, if its sense be understood, it comprises the sum of the Christian life." It belonged to the last effort to conciliate Leo, even after the papal Bull had been issued, and was written at the request of Miltitz. A paradox, which Luther finds in 1 Cor. ix., 19; Rom. xiii., 8, stands at its head, viz.: "A Christian is a most free lord over all things, and subject to no one"; and "A Christian is a ministering servant of all, and subject to every one." Free through faith, he is servant of all through love. Every Christian has two natures, spiritual and bodily. According to the former, he is an inner, new man; according to the latter, a carnal, external, old man. It is the former that is free. No outward thing has the ability

[1] Weimar, vii., 12 *sqq.*

[2] Kolde, *Martin Luther*, i., 274, Gotha, 1884.

to bring Christian righteousness or freedom, or, on the other hand, unrighteousness or bondage. What influence can health and freedom of body, eating and drinking, or good works have upon the inner man? How can imprisonment, hunger, and thirst do him injury? These things do not reach the soul. The soul needs none of these things for a Christian life. It is not injured when the body wears unconsecrated clothing, or when it prays at unconsecrated places. The soul can dispense with everything except the Word of God; and without the Word of God, it can find help from no other source. With the Word, it has life, truth, peace, righteousness, salvation, joy, freedom, wisdom, glory, and every good in surpassing measure. But what is that Word, and how is it to be used? That Word is the Gospel concerning the Son of God; and this can be received only by faith. Since, then, it is only faith that can govern the inner man, the inner man can be justified and saved by no external work or occupation. He who believes in Christ has the fulfilment of the law, has all that the law demands. United with Christ, as a bride to her bridegroom, the soul gives Christ all her sin, and receives from Him, through faith, all His righteousness, His eternal priesthood, and His glorious kingdom. A spiritual king, there is nothing so good or so high, that it must not serve me for good, if I believe. A spiritual priest, I appear before God, and pray for others, and have power with God, who does as the Christian in faith asks.

But, although justified, he remains in this life, a

man among other men. In constant struggle against his own flesh and desires, he must serve and work; by watching, fasting, and prayer, he must rule his body, in order ever to become more and more conformed to faith and the inner man. He lives, too, not for himself alone, but also for all men upon earth; or rather, he lives alone for others, and not for himself. Thus, the Christian is free from works, since he does not himself need them, as, by his innermost union with his Saviour by faith, he has all that his soul requires; but he cannot do otherwise than serve his neighbour out of pure love. "Thus we conclude, a Christian lives, not in himself, but in Christ and his neighbour; in Christ, through faith; in his neighbour, through love; or he is not a Christian. Through faith, he reaches upward to God; through love, downward to his neighbour."

"These three treatises together," says Koestlin, "are the chief reformatory writings of Luther. According to their contents, they have a most important relation to each other. In the first, Luther calls Christendom, in general, to the battle against the outward abuses of the Pope and of the estate that boasted of being the only one possessing a spiritual and priestly character. In the second, he exposes and breaks the spiritual bond, whereby this estate, through its means of grace, kept souls in bondage. In the third, he reaches the most profound and important question concerning the relation of the Christian soul to its God and Redeemer, and the way and nature of salvation."[1]

[1] Luther's *Leben*, i., 335.

LUTHER AS SAMSON. A LEIPZIG MEDAL OF 1617.

CHAPTER VII

THE BULL

ALTHOUGH announced long before by rumour, the Bull did not reach Wittenberg until the first week in October.[1] Eck had gained, as he thought, a triumph, not only by overcoming all opposition at Rome, but also in being himself deputed, as nuncio, to publish it in Germany. After invoking God, in the words of Ps. lxxiv., 22; lxxx., 13, 14, summoning the aid of SS. Peter and Paul, and all the saints, for the distressed Church, suffering from the assaults of "a new Porphyry," the Bull condemns forty-two errors said to be taken from the writings of Luther. They consist chiefly of sentences torn from their connection, most of which had already served Eck a good purpose at Leipzig, or had been uttered by Luther in that disputation. Among the errors for which Luther was summoned to recant, the thirty-

[1] For "Bull," see original text in *Op. var. arg.*, iv., 259 *sqq.*; also in Schaff's *Hist. Christ. Church*, vii., 233 *sqq.* English translation by the author in the Appendix to this volume.

third reads: "To burn heretics is contrary to the will of the Spirit."[1] All persons, universities, and States are prohibited from affirming, defending, preaching, or, in any way, publicly or privately, expressly or silently, favouring them. Wherever found, the writings of Luther are to be publicly burned. Sixty days are given Luther, within which to recant, and he is summoned to Rome, with the assurance of a safe-conduct. The penalty of refusal is excommunication; all persons or States harbouring or holding intercourse with him, after such excommunication, are to be placed under the ban. All patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, prelates of patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedrals, and other ecclesiastics, especially in Germany, are required to make solemn proclamation of the Bull in all their churches, on Sundays and other festivals. It is also to be nailed to the doors of the cathedrals of Brandenburg, Meissen, and Merseburg. Eck included in its provisions, by special authority, Carlstadt, Pirkheimer, Spengler, and other sympathisers of Luther.

If the papal court showed great diplomatic wisdom in the selection of the ambassadors who were to negotiate with the Emperor and Electors, concerning the execution of the Bull, it manifested astonishing ignorance of the condition of things in Germany, in commissioning Eck as the agent to proclaim it to the German people. Instead of striking terror wherever read, it excited only contempt and indignation. At Leipzig, where a year before he had gloried over what he regarded a decided victory, he

[1] From Luther's *Address to the Nobility*, see above, p. 161.

was mobbed by the Leipzig students, reinforced by many from Wittenberg. The bull was torn to pieces. Covered with mud, Eck found refuge in a monastery, whence he hurried, under cover of night, from the city. At Erfurt the students were supported by the Faculty, and, instead of being posted up, the document was thrown into the water, with the words: "It is a *bulla* [bubble]; let it float." At Wittenberg it was suppressed.

Meanwhile Miltitz, who saw the blunder, had an interview with Luther and Melanchthon, October 12th, at Lichtenberg, and, upon the representation that the bull was solely the reflection of Eck's influence at Rome, and that Leo was still open to conviction, secured the promise that Luther would address another letter to the Pope, together with an irenical treatise, stating the principles involved in his protest, with the understanding that it was to be dated before the reception of the bull. From this Luther could not have hoped for any result. The breach had already occurred and was irreparable. But, in deference to the Elector's desires, he consented to treat the matter as though the Pope had been made the innocent victim of Eck. The treatise, prepared within twelve days, we have in *The Freedom of a Christian Man*, a summary of which has been given. The letter,[1] while entirely candid in its professions that he is without any personal feeling against Leo, and that he would gladly honour him, if false friends would not claim for the Pope what belongs only to God, is, even to the an-

[1] De Wette, 1 : 497.

ticipation of the date, one of the most severe specimens of satire that can be found. He addresses the Pope as a "Daniel among lions," a "lamb in the midst of wolves," a "Pope worthy of a better age," and declares with what zeal he has maintained his cause against such a man as Sylvester Prierias, who has done the Pope great wrong by his misrepresentations. He apologises for the severe language he has found it necessary to use, by the example of Christ, who calls the Pharisees "a generation of vipers," and "children of the devil," and of Paul, who called one opponent "a son of perdition," and others, "dogs." "What use has salt, if it do not bite? What, the edge of a sword, if it do not cut?" "Under the whole heaven, there is nothing more corrupt than the Roman court. For it incomparably surpasses the godlessness of the Turks. What once was truly a gate of Heaven, has now become a gaping mouth of Hell."

"Believe not, O Leo, the siren voices of those who would persuade you that you are more than a mere man, and really, in part, God, to command and exact everything. In this way, you will not prevail. You are the servant of servants, and, above all men, in a most miserable and perilous place. Allow not them to deceive you, who pretend that you are the Lord of the world, and that, without you, no one can be a Christian, and who prate about your ability to do anything in Heaven, Hell, or purgatory. They are your enemies, and are seeking to destroy your soul. They err who elevate you above the Council, and the whole Church; they err who ascribe to you alone the right to interpret Scripture.

They are only seeking, under your name, to establish their impious schemes in the Church, as, alas! Satan has already accomplished much through them, in your predecessors."

Upon the same assumption, he had written in September, a brochure on *The New Bull and Lies of Eck*,[1] followed, November 17th, by a formal *Appeal to a General Council*,[2] and, about the same time, another pamphlet, *Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist*.[3] In the last of these, he says that he will treat the bull as though it were not the work of the Pope, for whoever wrote it must be Antichrist. A few sentences will show its spirit:

"Where art thou, most excellent Emperor Charles? and, where are you, ye Christian kings and princes? Can you, who have made oath to Christ in baptism, endure these tartarean declarations of Antichrist? Where are you, ye bishops, ye doctors, ye confessors of Christ's name? In the presence of these horrible portents of the Papists, can you keep silence? . . . Thee, Leo X., and you, ye cardinals of Rome, I address, and to your face I freely say: If this bull has gone forth in your name, and with your knowledge, and you acknowledge it, I will use my authority, by which, in baptism, by the mercy of God, I became a son of God, and co-heir with Christ, and was placed upon a firm rock, which dreads neither the gates of hell, nor heaven, nor earth. I exhort and admonish you in the Lord, to repent, and to make an end to these diabolical blasphemies, and that too, speedily.

[1] Weimar, vi., 576.
[2] *Ib.*, viii., 74 *sqq.*, in German; 83 *sqq.*
[3] *Ib.*, 595 *sqq.*

Unless this be done, know that I, with all who worship Christ, will regard your See possessed of Satan, and the accursed abode of Antichrist, whom we not only cannot obey, but detest and execrate, as the chief enemy of Christ. For this declaration, we are ready not only to bear with joy your foolish censures, but even not to ask you to absolve us or account us of your number,—aye, we offer ourselves for death, that you may satisfy your bloody tyranny. But, if the Spirit of Christ and the power of our faith avail, should you persevere in your fury after this has been written, we condemn you and, together with the bull and all the decretals, deliver you to Satan, for the destruction of your flesh, that your spirit may be delivered in the day of the Lord. In the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, whom you persecute. Amen."

Contemporaneously with this appeared *The Foundation and Reason of all the Articles, Lately Condemned by the Roman Bull*,[1] in which each article of the forty-one is examined, and answer given as to the charge of its heretical character. The surprise and excitement occasioned by one treatise are not over before another immediately takes its place. The blows upon the Papacy are not only sharp and heavy, but they are incessant. No time is given for an answer. When it is noted that *The Address to the German Nobility*, *The Babylonian Captivity*, *The Freedom of a Christian Man*, the letter to the Pope, *The Appeal to a General Council*, *The Bull against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist*, and *The*

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, v., 154 *sqq.*; Erlangen, 24 : 52 *sqq.*; Weimar, viii., 91 *sqq.*

Reason for the Condemned Articles, all appeared within five months, and when the length and thoroughness of some of these books is considered, we are astonished at Luther's literary productivity, and can see how utterly mistaken the adherents of the Papacy were in their plans to silence him. Letters of encouragement from all directions and all classes assured him how deep was the impression he was making.

At Louvain and Cologne, the demand of the bull for the public burning of Luther's works had been complied with. Aimed at creating a moral effect, Luther resolved upon retaliating in case such acts were repeated. He was awaiting a demonstration of this kind at Leipzig, with the intention of immediately thereafter committing the Pope's bull to the flames. But at Leipzig Luther had gained too strong a hold. When the news came that at Mayence the example set at Louvain and Cologne had been followed, he proceeded to action. Early on the morning of Monday, December 10, 1520, the following notice was posted on the bulletin board of the University:

"All friends of evangelical truth are invited to assemble about nine o'clock at the Church of the Holy Cross beyond the city wall. There, according to ancient, apostolical usage, the godless books of the Papal constitutions and the Scholastic Theology will be burned, inas-

much as the presumption of the enemies of the Gospel has advanced to such a degree that they have cast the godly, evangelical books of Luther into the fire. Let all earnest students, therefore, appear at the spectacle; for it is now the time when Antichrist must be exposed."

With the exception of Adrian, the Professor of Hebrew, all Luther's colleagues were on his side. The terrors of the bull had driven from Wittenberg about one hundred and fifty students, mostly by order of those upon whom they were dependent. But their places had been supplied by others attracted by the wide publication of the books of Wittenberg's leading professor. Spalatin, sent by the Elector to make an inquiry, had found four hundred students in attendance upon the lectures of Luther, and from five to six hundred upon those of Melanchthon. All had been for months in a state of expectancy. When the signal was thus given, all lectures were abandoned, and out College Street, through the Elster gate, they thronged to the appointed place. A hospital, near the church mentioned, had on its grounds a pest-house, which the frequent visitations of the plague had rendered necessary, and not far off a spot where infected clothing was burned. On a pyre there built Luther placed the books of canonical law, which had become particularly offensive to him, since support was constantly sought from them for the claims of the

Papacy, in contradiction of the Scripture passages he had cited against them. A Master of Arts applied the flame, and, as it grew, Luther hurled into it the bull, with the words: "Because thou dost trouble the Holy One of the Lord [Mark i., 24], may eternal fire consume thee!"

Before the canonical books were all consumed, he withdrew. With all his courage, he confesses that he went forth that morning trembling and praying, but returned with greater joy than over any previous deed of his life.[1] The students lingered at the place, keeping up the fire, and singing the *Te Deum*. Their youthful ardour found expression in proceedings that Luther thought it necessary the next day, at his lectures, to censure. They converted the burning into a matter of sport, singing funeral hymns over the expiring embers, and then, returning to Wittenberg, procured a wagon, and passed through the streets in procession, gathering large quantities of the books of Luther's adversaries, and with them caused the flames at the pest-house to be started anew. With Luther, however, the act had been no mere sport. He meant what he said when he announced it as a religious act. It was intended to declare to his adversaries, that his books must be answered by argument; and that if, instead of refuting, they chose to burn them, that plan was just as admissible on his side. The last bridge was broken. The next day he publicly declared: "If, with your whole heart, you do not separate from the dominion of the Pope, you cannot be

[1] Letter to Staupitz, De Wette, 1: 542.

LUTHER BURNING THE PAPAL BULL.

AFTER A DRAWING BY E. LESSING.

saved. . . . In this wicked world, I would rather endure all perils than, by silence, burden my conscience with the account I must render to God."[1] With characteristic promptness, in a pamphlet that appeared the same month, he justifies his course in burning the canonical law, by the citation of thirty passages, in which its teaching is directly contradictory to Holy Scripture. Not only was he at this time aware of his probable appearance before the Emperor to answer for his course, but his heart was saddened by the defection, under the threats made by Eck, of Adelmann of Augsburg, and the two Nurembergers, Pirkheimer and Spengler, and the wavering of Staupitz, Luther's old friend and preceptor, who, feeling himself unequal to the conflict, had sought to escape it by resigning his position as Vicar-General of the Augustines, and had retired to Saltzburg, where he was preacher to the archbishop, and where he hoped to end his days in peace. But there he was summoned before a notary and witnesses and asked to condemn the articles of Luther rejected in the bull. Writing to his successor, Link, Staupitz said: "Martin has begun a dangerous enterprise, and is carrying it on with a high spirit, enlightened of God; but I falter, and have need of milk." Luther attempted to comfort and strengthen him, as Staupitz had so often comforted Luther. The old man finally sought to evade the issue by the general declaration, that he submitted himself to the Pope, as his judge. In February, Luther addresses him with decision, combined with tenderness:

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, v., 253 *sqq.*

"If Christ loves you He will compel you to recall that declaration, since in the bull everything is condemned that you have heretofore taught concerning the mercy of God. This is no time for fear, but for raising the alarm, when our Lord Jesus Christ is condemned, dishonoured, and blasphemed. I exhort you, therefore, to pride with as much urgency as you exhort me to humility; for you have too much humility, as I have too much pride. But it is a serious matter. We see Christ suffering. If, heretofore, we had to keep silent and be humbled, now, when throughout the whole world our Saviour is made sport of, shall we, I ask, not contend for Him? Shall we not, for His sake, offer our necks? My Father, the danger is greater than many believe. Here the Gospel begins to have its application: 'Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father which is in heaven.'"[1]

How deeply Luther felt this alienation of his spiritual father, may be judged from an incidental remark in a letter of October 3, 1519: "Last night I had a dream concerning you. I thought that you were leaving me, and that I was most bitterly weeping; but I was pacified when you said that you would return."[2] A book, published by Staupitz, in 1525, on *The True Christian Faith*, shows how far apart, since their external separation, the two friends had drifted.

[1] De Wette, 1: 536 *sqq.*
[2] *Ib.*, 243.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING LUTHER AT WORMS.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DIET OF WORMS

NEVER was political diplomacy more active than in the negotiations for the execution of the bull. In the autumn of 1520, the young Emperor —the object of the conflicting hopes of all the participants in the great struggle—had come to Germany, to be crowned at the grave of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, and to hold his first Imperial diet. The German knights, under Hutten and Sickingen, were chafing to carry out their visionary projects, in support of his authority as an independent German Emperor, and were sanguine as to the early realisation of their extravagant expectations. They took pains to impress him with the importance and feasibility of their schemes, and the extent of the revolt against the papal authority. The Papacy, on the other hand, had selected as its representatives two accomplished diplomats, both Italians, Carraccioli and Aleander, the latter librarian of the Vatican Library, and a humanist, who had for ten years

been Professor of Greek in Paris. They had hastened to meet Charles in the Netherlands. Of the details of their negotiations the Emperor had been well informed for months by his watchful ambassador at Rome. His course, with respect to Luther, was to be decided by reasons of State policy. As to the justice of the condemnation, the sentence of the Pope was sufficient for him, a loyal Catholic in everything pertaining to his personal convictions and private religious life. The game of statecraft between Pope and Emperor was one in which the former demanded the execution of the bull, and the latter sought to exact the utmost of favours in his projects against France, and the revocation of certain restrictions which the Pope had recently placed upon the Inquisition in Aragon. Both were hampered, the one by the apprehension, in this crisis, of alienating King Francis from the See of Rome, and the other by his obligations to the Elector of Saxony, and the threats of revolt that came from so many parts of Germany.

Aleander approached the Elector; but in his reception at Cologne was met with such chilling delays and exacting formalities, that the purpose of Frederick was manifest. Luther was not, in his judgment, to be regarded as a condemned man until he had been tried by regular process. Thus far Frederick claimed that Luther had not been refuted. Appealing to Erasmus for advice, he was only strengthened in his policy; for, in answer to the question, as to whether Luther had erred, Erasmus answered: "Yes, in two things; he has attacked

the Pope in his crown, and the monks in their bellies." The Elector then presented the grievance that, in his absence and without his consent, Eck had published the bull in his territory. The next resort of Aleander was to procure from the Emperor an edict for the burning of Luther's books in Saxony, as such edict had been given for the Netherlands, in order, by this means, to gain the Imperial sanction for the execution of the bull. But in this he was foiled by the opinion of Charles's legal counsellors, that the condemnation of a German without a hearing would be a violation of the capitulation, to which he had just made oath at his coronation. Frederick was accordingly instructed to bring Luther with him to the diet to be held in Worms. It seemed as though this were not to be accomplished, when, late in December, both parties united in their opposition to the project; Frederick in protest against the insult offered him by the burning of Luther's works at Cologne and Mayence; and Charles, under the pressure of Aleander's plea of the offence that would be given the Papacy if Luther—a man condemned by the Pope—were to be heard before he had recanted. When the summons of the Emperor was known to have been recalled, a storm of excitement from the knights and the people broke out, that ultimately procured a second, and this time a formal summons, directly addressed to Luther, after the council of electors had requested it; some hoping thus to find the shortest way to the execution of the bull. The summons was in itself a triumph. Aleander had used all his

arts against it. The manner in which he was summoned was also a triumph for Luther. Never had heretic condemned by the Pope been addressed in such respectful and friendly terms by a Catholic sovereign. The time had come to gain favours from the Pope by exciting the suspicion of any growing sympathy with Luther. Manuel reports from Rome (March 20, 1529):

"Some of the cardinals complained that the Emperor had ordered Luther into his presence, saying that he had arrogated to himself a jurisdiction which belongs to the Holy See. The Pope said that he had been informed that the Emperor was ill-advised when he decided to see Martin Luther, who would not be well received, even in Hell."[1]

The summons which reached Luther, March 26th, found him thoroughly absorbed again in literary activity. Priests having in various quarters been diligently inquiring in the confessional concerning the circulation and reading of his books, he prepared a book of instructions for those going to confession, in which he advised them to refuse to make answer, even though this would involve their deprival, for a time, of sacrament, altar, priest, and church, "since the word of God condemned in the bull is more than all things."[2] On the day before the burning of the bull he had begun a devotional commentary on the *Magnificat*. The first part of his *Evangelical Postils*, or sermons on the Epistles, was just ap-

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Henry VIII.), ii., 1341.

[2] Erlangen, 24: 202 *sqq.*

pearing from the press. He was continuing his comments on the Psalms, and was writing a reply to the attacks of a Dominican, Ambrosius Catharinus. His controversial activity, upon which he lamented that three years of his life had been wasted, was, in his opinion, only a side matter, the chief work to which he had been called being that of the positive teaching of the word, as drawn from the Scriptures. But he consoled himself with Neh. iv., 17, and kept three presses going as, day and night, his pen flew on.

It was Holy Week, when the Imperial herald, Caspar Sturm, arrived at Wittenberg with the citation. Hastily finishing, on Easter Monday, his answer to Catharinus, Luther started the next day, April 2d, accompanied by his colleague, Amsdorf, an Augustinian brother, Petzensteiner (for it was the rule of the Order that its members must travel two by two), and a young Pomeranian nobleman, Swaven, a representative of the students. The city of Wittenberg furnished them with a conveyance. The herald rode in advance, while Luther was also well protected by letters of safe-conduct from the Emperor and the various princes through whose territory he had to pass. Greeted by the cordial welcome of multitudes, his course became almost a continual ovation. His reception at Erfurt was marked by such demonstration that he was dissatisfied, as he deemed it inconsistent with the nature of the spiritual kingdom, for whose advancement he was contending. The Rector of the University, with forty horsemen, met him at Nohra, ten

miles to the east. Professors, students, large numbers of the citizens, formed a procession, in honour of Erfurt's alumnus. Streets, doors, windows, towers, walls, were filled with eager spectators. There were festive orations and poems. Tarrying over Sunday at his old home, the Augustinian monastery, when he preached on the Easter message, "Peace be unto you," the crowd was so dense that there was an ominous crack as though the beams were giving way. The threatened panic was at once stayed by his words: "I know thy tricks, O Satan. Fear not, there is no danger; the devil wants to prevent me from preaching the Gospel, but he cannot do it." Continuing his journey, he preached at Gotha and Eisenach.

Meanwhile the political complications at Worms had taken another turn. Unwearied in their efforts to prevent Luther's appearance, the papal ambassadors had at last succeeded in procuring an Imperial edict for the delivery and burning of Luther's books. This was practically a condemnation in advance, and seemed to render Luther's presence unnecessary; but the Emperor tried to steer between the two parties by saying that Luther was summoned only for the purpose of having him recant. At Weimar this edict reached him, and its intention was immediately seen. The Imperial herald, who was favourably disposed to Luther, asked whether he would proceed. Only for a brief moment did he tremble; but quickly regaining his self-possession, he answered: "Yes. I will proceed, and entrust myself to the Emperor's protection," thus foiling the plan

of his adversaries to have him condemned for contumacy in disobeying the summons. Worn out and sick, he wrote to Spalatin from Frankfort: "Christ lives; and we shall enter Worms, though all the gates of Hell and powers of the air be unwilling."[1]

From still another side was the effort made to deter him. Glapio, the confessor of Charles, made a visit to Sickingen, then at his castle at Ebernburg, and impressing him with the great peril that awaited Luther, enlisted his influence in the scheme to keep Luther from Worms. At Oppenheim, Luther's last stopping-place before reaching Worms, fifteen miles to the south, a band of knights intercepted him, accompanying the late Dominican monk, Martin Bucer, who had been entrusted with the commission of informing Luther of Glapio's representations, and inviting him to take refuge in Sickingen's castle. "If the Emperor's confessor," answered Luther, "wants to speak with me, he can do so at Worms." As he resumed his journey, a message from Spalatin reminded him of the fate of Hus. Then it is said that he uttered the memorable words: "Though there be as many devils in Worms, as tiles in the roofs, I will enter." He had been summoned to make a public confession and to stand a public trial, and he could not be deterred by the arts of private diplomacy. Shortly before his death, referring to these events, he said: "I was unterrified; I was afraid of nothing. God can make one so daring!

[1] "Intrabimus Wormatiam, invitis omnibus portis inferni et potentatibus aëris." De Wette, 1 : 587.

I do not know whether, under the same circumstances, I should now be so joyful."

At ten o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, April 16th, a trumpet call from the city watch on the dome of the cathedral announced to the inhabitants of Worms that Luther was at hand. The dinner-tables (for at that time such was the usual hour for dinner) were deserted, while the population turned out *en masse* to see him. A number of Saxon noblemen and others belonging to the Elector's retinue had gone out to escort him into the city. Two thousand people accompanied him to his lodgings in the house of the Knights of St. John. In front rode the Imperial herald, then Luther with his three friends; then, on horseback, Drs. Jerome Schurf and Justus Jonas, and an escort from Erfurt; and, in the rear, his Saxon friends. "God will be with me," he said to those who greeted him. The indignation of Aleander knew no bounds. A heretic, he thought, should have been brought into the city with the utmost privacy. But this demonstration had the sanction of being preceded by the Imperial herald! Not only was he forced to recognise how strongly the tide of popular sentiment was with Luther, but he was smarting under the insolent letters of Hutten, who had actually ordered the representative of the Pope out of Germany, and had threatened that, if the order were not promptly obeyed, he should not return to Italy alive.

With wise forethought the Elector had provided lodgings for Luther in the same house with the Imperial marshal, Pappenheim, and in the same room

with two Saxon noblemen. A constant stream of visitors flocked to his quarters, so that it was nearly midnight before he could be alone. Unable to sleep, he spent a good portion of the night at the window in prayer and in gently touching his lute. Early the next morning, while Aleander was arranging with the Emperor the details of the proceedings against him, he heard the confession, and administered the communion to a Saxon nobleman who was sick unto death.

Summoned to appear before the Diet at four o'clock in the afternoon, he was conducted thither by the Imperial marshal and the herald who had brought him from Wittenberg.[1] The streets were so thronged that, in order to reach the Episcopal palace, where the Diet was in session, they were compelled to pass through the gardens and alleys. Reaching the palace, as far as eye could see a vast crowd of men extended, while windows and roofs were also called into service. Six o'clock came before he was admitted to the hall. Within and by the open doors and windows, about five thousand men, Germans, Italians, Netherlanders, Spaniards, had congregated. Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, says: "In a hall, seated on a chair of state which was covered with gold brocade and overhung by a canopy of the same material, sat the Emperor; on the one side were seated all the electors; on the other, the cardinals." What thoughts of Luther occurred to many as he

[1] For proceedings at Worms, see *Op. var. arg.*, vi., 1 *sqq.*; Erlangen, 66: 367 *sqq.*; Weimar, vii., 814 *sqq.*; *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian) under dates.

appeared, and against what prejudices he had to find a hearing, may also be learned from the same despatches:

"Luther has reached such a pitch of madness, that he rejects the decrees of the Councils, says that any layman can administer the sacrament of the eucharist, that matrimony can be dissolved, that simple fornication is no sin, and hints at that community of women, of which Plato treats in his *Republic*."

On a table, or bench, in front of the Emperor, lay copies of a number of Luther's books. Before such an audience, aware of the unequal terms upon which he would be compelled to plead his cause, and thoroughly unacquainted with the mode of procedure, it is not surprising that at first his embarrassment was manifest. The program had been arranged by Aleander. A jurist from the retinue of the Elector of Treves, whose name by a singular coincidence was that of Luther's lifelong opponent, Dr. John von Eck, had been selected to represent the Emperor. Without the privilege of any argument, Luther was to answer categorically two questions, and was addressed accordingly, first in Latin and then in German: "Martin, the Emperor has summoned you hither to answer, first, whether you have written these books and others published under your name; and, secondly, whether you will recant, or abide by them?"

Any purpose to charge Luther with the authorship of what he had not written and to gain his admission, was met by the interposition of Luther's legal

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY BARTEL BEHAM, 1531.

adviser, Dr. Jerome Schurf, the Wittenberg Professor of Jurisprudence, who called out: "Let the titles be read." When this had been done, Luther answered in a low and scarcely audible voice, and with a shaking of the head, betraying his embarrassment, that he had written them. His answer to the second question was, that since it concerned his soul's salvation, he must have time for consideration. The Emperor expressed the opinion that the question was one for which Luther ought to be prepared to make an immediate answer, but, after considerable delay and consultation with his advisers, he granted Luther's request for a postponement until the next day at the same hour. The possibility of receding from his position Luther never contemplated. That night he wrote: "I shall not recant an iota, if Christ be gracious to me." But the importance of the question demanded deliberation, and as his answer would be a formal confession of his faith not only before the Emperor, but, as the results show, for all time, he was concerned as to the manner in which that confession should be made.

The crowd the next day, Thursday, April 18th, was, if possible, still greater. A larger hall had been procured, but it was so packed that even the princes had difficulty to find places. The absence of the legates was conspicuous. On his way a veteran officer, George von Freundsburg, had said, as he passed: "My poor monk, you have a fight before you to-day, such as neither I nor any of my comrades in arms have ever had in

our hottest battles." Night had already fallen, and when Luther entered, the lights in the hall were lit. With a brief preface, Eck repeated the question of the preceding day concerning his recantation. Then, with a profound bow, Luther rose. All the diffidence of the former interview was past. His voice was firm and clear; his entire bearing, while courteous, that of one who had the fullest faith in the justice and the ultimate triumph of his cause. After an introduction, in which he begged pardon for any breach of propriety that his inexperience in the customs of such assemblies might occasion, since his training had been entirely that of a monk, he proceeded to the question. His books, he said, were not all of one kind. Were he to repudiate those the truth and correctness of which were acknowledged by his adversaries, he would be the only man condemning them. Neither could those written against the manifest tyranny and corruptions of the Papacy be recanted without conniving at wickedness. A third class of books was directed against individuals who had undertaken to defend the Papacy. Although here he freely acknowledged that he had sometimes written with more acerbity than was becoming, yet the books themselves could not be recanted without giving his opponents support for a statement that, on the topics treated, he had receded from his antagonism. Quoting the words of Christ, John xviii., 23, he asked for a refutation of his books, from the prophetical and apostolical Scriptures. " I am ready, if convicted, to recall every error, and will be the

first to throw my books into the fire." Divisions because of the Gospel are only what the Lord, who came not to send peace, but a sword, had told us to expect. Then he warned the young Emperor to beware of committing himself to a policy like that of Pharaoh and the King of Babylon, and many of the kings of Israel.

"For God takes the wise in their own craftiness, and causes the mountains to fall before they know it. This I say, not as though such exalted dignitaries stand in need of my admonition, but because I cannot withdraw myself from the service which I owe to Germany. I commit myself, therefore, to Your Majesty, with the prayer that you will not allow my cause to be prejudiced by my adversaries."

This answer, first made in Latin, was then repeated in German. Many, however, reverse the order. As the room was close and overheated, he was told that, if he so desired, he could be excused from this additional exertion; but he preferred to be so heard.

Luther's reply was followed by a consultation between the Emperor and his counsellors,—after which Dr. Eck answered that they were not there to hold a disputation. If the errors, which he held in common with Wiclif and Hus, were recanted, everything new that was found in his works could be referred to learned men, who would judge it impartially. The Emperor, he said, demanded a simple answer, "without horns."

"Well, then," said Luther, "since His Imperial Majesty wants a plain answer, I shall give him a plain

answer, without horns and teeth. Unless I be refuted by Scriptural testimonies, or by clear arguments—for I believe neither the Pope nor the councils alone, since it is clear that they have often erred and contradicted one another—I am convinced by the passages of Scripture, which I have cited, and my conscience is bound in the word of God. I cannot and will not recant anything; since it is insecure and dangerous to act against conscience."

In his astonishment, the Emperor is said to have then suggested the question whether Luther actually were of the opinion that councils could err. The answer was: "Of course; because they have often erred. For, since the Council of Constance decided in many points against the clear text of Holy Scripture, Holy Scripture forces me to say that councils have erred." Dr. Eck declared that it could not be proved that general councils had erred; Luther said that he was ready to prove it. The disputation that they had proclaimed they would avoid was beginning. The Emperor rose to conclude the session. A confusion followed, in which Luther again, in words that were scarcely heard above the din, commended himself to the Emperor, and finally, in louder tones, exclaimed: "I cannot do otherwise. Here I stand. God help me!"[1]

Two guards, whose presence the outbreak of the indignation of the Spaniards rendered necessary, having been ordered to accompany him as he left

[1] The explanation of the confusion of authorities concerning these words, Kolde regards as owing to the fact that they were spoken in the tumult. See note, i., 393.

the hall, there was a moment of intense excitement, when it was supposed that he had been arrested.

"I am through! *I am through!* I AM THROUGH!" were the exultant words with which Luther greeted his friends at his lodgings. "Even though I had a hundred heads, I would have had them all cut off at once before I would have recanted anything." His hearing had lasted just about two hours. The tankard of Eimbeck beer, sent by Duke Erich of Brunswick, before he left the Episcopal palace, and the visits to his lodgings of a number of princes and dukes, among them Philip of Hesse, who assured him: "You are right, Doctor," indicated the good impression he had made upon many in high position. No one was more pleased with his course than the Elector of Saxony, although, from prudential reasons, he kept at a distance. The popular feeling was overwhelmingly on his side. The Venetian ambassador, while prejudiced in many of his statements against Luther, writes:

"I cannot tell you how much favour he enjoys here, which is of such nature that, on the Emperor's departure, I suspect that it will produce some bad effects, most especially against the prelates of Germany. In truth, had this man been prudent, had he restricted himself to his first propositions and not entangled himself in manifest errors about the faith, he would have been, I do not say favoured, but adored by the whole of Germany."

In another despatch he says: "He has many powerful partisans, who encourage him, and against

whom no one dares to [proceed]. Luther's works are sold publicly in Worms, although the Pope and the Emperor, who is on the spot, have prohibited them." [1] Aleander, on the other hand, was triumphant in the clearness of the case that could now be made against Luther.

On the next morning, Friday, April 19th, the Emperor submitted to the estates of the Empire the proposition to immediately dismiss Luther and then, on the expiration of his safe-conduct, to proceed against him as a heretic. That night, a placard on the City Hall, or *Rathhaus*, pledged four hundred knights to the defence of Luther. Although ridiculed by the Emperor, the German princes regarded this a most serious matter, and prevailed upon Charles to endeavour to conciliate Luther by means of a commission that would confer with him in a less formal manner. Wednesday, April 24th, at 6 A.M., the commission, under the presidency of the Archbishop and Elector of Treves, and comprising besides himself, the Elector of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, the headmaster of the German knights, Albrecht of Brandenburg, the Duke of Wertheim, two representatives of the free cities, Peutinger of Augsburg, and Bock of Strassburg, and the Chancellor of the Margrave of Baden, Dr. Jerome Vehus, began their sessions. Their conference with Luther, two days later, in which he was accompanied by Schurf, Jonas, Amsdorf, and Spalatin, was fruitless; as was also the

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian), 376 *sqq.*, under dates given.

more private interview, for three hours, on the morning of the 25th, with Drs. Peutinger and Vehus, and, on the afternoon of the same day, with the Archbishop of Treves.

All efforts having failed, and the Archbishop of Treves having been asked by Luther to secure from the Emperor leave for immediate departure, the formal dismissal was delivered to him at his lodgings by Dr. Eck and the Emperor's private secretary. The Emperor stated that, as defender of the Catholic faith, he must proceed against Luther, but that, meanwhile, the safe-conduct would be faithfully observed; Luther, however, was to refrain from preaching and writing. His answer was a courteous acknowledgment of the Emperor's consideration, as shown throughout the Diet, and the promise to comply with the Imperial request, except so far as it affected the binding of God's word. The next day, Friday, April 26th, he left. The battle for freedom of conscience had been fought and won.

The account of Luther's experience at Worms would be incomplete without a reference to the prayer made in his room during the crisis, which, tradition says, some one heard, and immediately committed to writing, and in which, according to his habit of praying aloud, he commended himself to God in language of such eloquence and fervour, and with so many individual characteristics, that every consideration of internal evidence points to its genuineness. It is his great hymn, *Ein feste Burg*, in prose.

"Almighty and Eternal God, how is there but one thing to be seen upon earth! How the people open wide their mouths! How small and insignificant is their trust in God! How tender and weak the flesh, and how mighty and active the devil, working through his apostles and those wise in this world! How the world draws back the hand, and snarls, as it runs the common course —the broad way to Hell, where the godless belong! It has regard only for what is pretentious and powerful, great and mighty. If I should turn my eyes in that direction, it would be all over with me; the clock would strike the hour, and sentence would be passed. O God! O God! O Thou, my God! Do Thou, my God, stand by me, against all the world's wisdom and reason. Oh, do it! Thou must do it! Yea, Thou alone must do it! Not mine, but Thine, is the cause. For my own self, I have nothing to do with these great earthly lords. I would prefer to have peaceful days, and to be out of this turmoil. But Thine, O Lord, is this cause; it is righteous and eternal. Stand by me, Thou true Eternal God! In no man do I trust. All that is of the flesh and that savours of the flesh, is here of no account. God, O God! dost Thou not hear me, O my God? Art Thou dead? No. Thou canst not die; Thou art only hiding Thyself. Hast Thou chosen me for this work? I ask Thee how I may be sure of this, if it be Thy will: for I would never have thought, in all my life, of undertaking aught against such great lords. Stand by me, O God, in the Name of Thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, who shall be my Defence and Shelter, yea, my Mighty Fortress, through the might and strength of Thy Holy Ghost. Lord, where abidest Thou? Thou art my God; where art Thou? Come! come! I am ready to lay down my life patiently as a lamb. For the cause is right and it is

Thine, so shall I never be separated from Thee. Let all be done in Thy Name! The world must leave my conscience unconstrained; and, although it should be full of devils, and my body, Thy handiwork and creation, be rent into fragments, yet Thy Word and Spirit are good to me. All this can befall only the body; the soul is Thine, and belongs to Thee, and shall abide with Thee eternally. Amen. God help me. Amen."[1]

After the Elector of Saxony had left Worms, on May 26th, the Imperial edict against Luther was published, although bearing the date of eighteen days before, and at the same time the Pope and the Emperor made common cause against the King of France.

[1] Erlangen, 64: 289 *sqq.*

LUTHER AS A KNIGHT.

CHAPTER IX

AT THE WARTBURG

ON Friday, April 26, 1521, at 10 A.M., with the comrades who had accompanied him from Wittenberg, and Dr. Schurf, Luther left Worms. In order not to give the matter too much importance, the Imperial herald delayed his departure for some hours, joining the party at Oppenheim that evening. On the next day he reached Frankfort, from which place he wrote to his friend the painter, Lucas Cranach, at Wittenberg, that, for a time, he would not be heard of. A plan had been devised, probably by John, the Elector's brother, for the twofold purpose of sheltering Luther from impending danger, and preventing him from irritating his enemies by any further public utterances. The details of the plan were concealed from all except those who were to execute it. The night before leaving Worms, Luther and Amsdorf were admitted to the secret. After another day's journey, at Friedberg, the herald

ARREST OF LUTHER BY HIS FRIENDS

WHEN RETURNING FROM THE DIET OF WORMS.

was dismissed, in order that the plan might be carried out, and with him Luther sent back two letters, one to the Emperor and the other to the princes in session at the Diet, explaining why it had been impossible for him to recant.

At Hersfeld he received an ovation, being most cordially greeted by the Benedictines, and formally received by the magistrates. The next morning (May 2d) he preached at 5 A.M., and that night reached Eisenach. Here also the demand to hear him was so great that he preached again, although the parish priest protested. At Eisenach three of the party left him, Amsdorf and Petzensteiner accompanying him into the Thuringian forest on a visit to his grandmother, his uncle, and other relatives. Preaching again at Möhra, the ancestral home of his family, eight and three quarter miles south of Eisenach, he was accompanied for some distance by relatives. After they had left him, near the castle of Altenstein, in the depths of the forest, an armed troop of horsemen suddenly appeared, and carried Luther off as a prisoner to the castle of the Wartburg, situated on an eminence overhanging Eisenach, which, by a circuitous route, they reached about 11 P.M. The scheme had been executed by Hans von Berlepsch, the lord of the Wartburg castle, and Burchard von Hund, of the Altenstein castle.

Great consternation followed, as the tidings of Luther's disappearance spread throughout Germany, and the conviction became almost universal that his enemies had made away with him. The indignation

grew to such an extent that Aleander, in Worms, began to tremble for his life. The Papal nuncio, however, even then suspected that "the Saxon fox," as he called the Elector, had concealed him.

With the secret of his name unknown to any about him but his host and hostess, with his monastic habit exchanged for that of a knight, with a full beard, a sword by his side and a gold chain around his neck, called "Sir George," riding out frequently with an attendant through the wild mountain passes, occasionally making a hurried visit to the neighbouring villages or joining in the hunt, or gathering strawberries in the meadows, or looking forth upon a wide landscape replete with memories of his boyhood and the homes of his relatives, no change of life could have been more radical, or more beneficial, notwithstanding his physical discomfort at times, because of the richness of his food. But he could not rest. Even the quiet study of the Bible in its original languages seemed idleness. An exposition of the Sixty-Eighth Psalm, another book on *Confession*, an exposition of the *Magnificat*, a controversial treatise in answer to the Louvain theologian, Latomus, flowed with astonishing rapidity from his pen. Then he applied himself to the continuation of his commentary on the Psalms, and especially to the beginning of his Postils, or sermons on the Gospels and Epistles for the Sundays and Festivals of the Church Year, this time in the German, as his previous work on the same subject had been in the Latin language. The Postils not only afforded the laity a plain exposition of Holy Scripture, but also

put into the hands of pastors, so few of whom had been properly prepared for the ministry, both the material and the models for their sermons. Without artistic elaboration, or even strictly logical order, Luther's sermons are the plain, earnest, forceful expression of his sincere convictions, poured forth with all the ardour of extemporaneous utterance, but, at the same time, the ripe fruit of his extensive knowledge of Scripture and his deep Christian experience. At every point, he teaches, warns, exhorts, comforts, reproves in the language of the time and people, and with respect to the living issues of the hour, always with the utmost candour, and without regard to the fear or favour of men.

That, notwithstanding his concealment, Luther's influence was still dreaded, had soon a remarkable proof in an incident which concerned his former opponent, the Archbishop of Mayence. Profiting nothing by his sad experience in the case of Tetzel, Albrecht's habitual pecuniary straits had led to the publication of a sale of indulgences at Halle, which offered 39,540,120 years' and 220 days' respite from purgatory. Intimations of the criticism which this sale was likely to provoke from Luther having reached him, Capito, his chaplain, who was favourably inclined to the Reformation, was sent to Wittenberg to prevent the attack. Spalatin undertook to turn Luther from his purpose. As the Elector was sheltering Luther, in opposition to both Emperor and Diet, he insisted that Luther should not attack another Elector, who was at the same time archbishop and cardinal. Luther was indignant.

Was he, who had dared to withstand the Pope, to shrink from attacking his creature? Far better that the whole world should perish than that he should be hindered in warning Christ's sheep of the wolf that was after them! All that he could be expected to do was to postpone for a time the publication of the book that he had written. At last, impatient at the delay, he writes directly to the Archbishop, informing him that he must not think Luther dead, and that if, within fourteen days, no answer be received, he may expect to be publicly exposed. A most humiliating letter (December 21st) followed from this ecclesiastical and secular prince, acknowledging his sin, stating that the sale of indulgences was suppressed, and promising, for the future, to conduct himself in a Christian way. This might have satisfied him, had it not been followed immediately by a letter from Capito, assuring him that Albrecht's sympathies were actually with the Reformation, but that he sought to reach the same end by less aggressive methods.

The elaborate treatise on *Monastic Vows*, completed before the close of November, would alone have constituted a most gratifying fruit of the detention at the Wartburg. Most interesting is the long letter in which he dedicates the book to his father.[1] It shows most conclusively that the course of the son was, from the beginning to the end, most powerfully influenced by the father, and that, even after the former had outgrown the spell of authorities that seemed for a time to throw the advice of

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, vi., 544 *sqq.*; Weimar, viii., 564 *sqq.*

the humble miner into the shade, the son recurred to, and scientifically vindicated, his father's simple judgment. "I want you to know," he writes, "that your son has advanced so far as to be most firmly convinced that no observance is holier, none higher, none more sacred than a divine command." Then he recounts the difference between his father and himself, when he entered the monastery, his father's just indignation that for a time withdrew all intercourse from his disobedient son, and how when he at length was reconciled, it was with the open protest against the sin he believed that his son had committed in disobeying him, and becoming a monk. Reviewing the circumstances now, he says that he clearly sees that, even after he had entered the monastery, not a vow that he made was worth a straw, when opposed to his father's will. The Lord, however, had permitted him to enter into that course in order that he might be able to testify how foolish were the imagined attainments of the schools, and the vaunted holiness of monastic observances. "You are still my parent, and I am still your son; and all vows are of no account." But while his father's authority had precedence above all vows, there is one sphere, he says, into which that cannot enter. The call to the ministry is of divine appointment, and here, "he that loveth father or mother more than Me, is not worthy of Me." Not that the authority of parents necessarily conflicts with the office of the ministry, but that, if they should conflict, that of Christ alone is to prevail.

"I send this book, therefore, to you, in order that you may see by what signs and power Christ now has freed me from my monastic vow, and given me such liberty, that, although I have been made the servant of all, yet I am subject to no one, but to Him alone. For He is my immediate Bishop, Abbot, Prior, Lord, Father, and Master. None other do I know."

At the beginning of December he undertook a secret journey to Wittenberg, where he stayed for several days in the house of Amsdorf, not venturing to visit even his own apartments at the monastery. Here his portrait in the dress of a knight was painted by his friend Cranach, and conferences with trusted friends were held. Notwithstanding his absence, the University had prospered. Students crowded thither from almost all European nations, for the study not only of theology, but also of medicine and jurisprudence. The theological faculty had been strengthened by an accession of youthful professors. Justus Jonas, the Erfurt jurist, called first to the legal faculty, soon exchanged it for that of theology. Aurogallus had become Professor of Hebrew; and John Bugenhagen, whose services became most invaluable in the sphere of Church organisation, had come to Wittenberg while Luther was at Worms. Melanchthon's energies had been more and more concentrated upon theology, and his text-book, the famous *Loci Theologici*, was just about appearing. Carlstadt, restless, ambitious, contentious, censorious in his relations with his colleagues, as well as with others, supported by a kindred agitator, the Augustinian Zwilling, gave no heed to the Elector's

cautions, and precipitated radical changes, some of them not in themselves ungrateful to Luther. The marriage of priests, the abandonment of monasteries, the abrogation of all authority within the monasteries for those who remained, the cessation of the daily masses, the administration of the communion in both forms, were among the earlier reforms. As previously at Erfurt, so at Wittenberg, the depreciation of the monastic orders was manifested in open acts of iconoclastic violence.

Understanding well the excitable and turbulent nature of students, and satisfied that their zeal would soon abate, Luther feared, from these outbreaks, no general disorder. The occasion nevertheless seemed to demand his testimony; and this he gave in the preparation, immediately after his return to the Wartburg, of his *Admonition to all Christians to Abstain from Riot and Sedition.*[1] The folly of violence, the dishonour it does to God's order, the want of confidence in God's own means of overthrowing His enemies that it manifests, the great prejudice against the evangelical cause that it must inevitably occasion are dwelt upon. Riot and sedition spring only from the devil. If there be evils for which the magistrates bring no relief, recognise this condition of things as the punishment of sin, pray to God for deliverance, speak, preach, write, testify openly against the evil, as God gives opportunity. It is not by our efforts, but by the breath of Christ's mouth, that these evils are to be remedied. He complains of those superficial spirits

[1] Erlangen, 22 : 43 *sqq.*; Weimar, viii., 670 *sqq.*

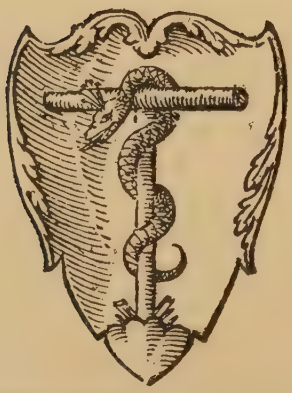
who, when they have read a page or two, or heard a sermon or two, think themselves entrusted with a special commission to go forth and reprove others for not holding to the evangelical faith. He warns against the manner in which his name has been abused. Men should be called Christians, not Lutherans. "What am I, a miserable mass of corruption, that the children of Christ should be called by my name!"[1] Adversaries are of two classes. The hardened should be left to themselves, for pearls should not be thrown before swine. With those merely weak, great patience must be exercised, and gentle means employed. With wolves, you cannot be too severe; with sheep, you cannot be too tender.

But the more he appealed to the testimony of Holy Scripture, the more need he felt of an accurate translation in the language of the people. To be guarded against errorists from both sides that were assailing them, they must have the Word of God in their own hands, or they would be carried into all kinds of extravagance. Polemical treatises could serve only a temporary purpose, until the people could be rooted and grounded in the faith by their own study of Holy Scripture. While there were in existence no less than fourteen previous German translations, yet these were from the Latin Vulgate, lacked scholarly precision, were marked by a style alien to that of the people, and could be procured only at a high price. During his visit to Wittenberg in December, 1521, his friends urged

[1] Weimar, viii., 685.

the undertaking of a new translation of the Bible into German, and within a few days after his return he was at work upon it. His friend, Lange of Erfurt, having undertaken a similar translation that proceeded very slowly, he wrote that he wished that every town should have its translator, so that the Bible should be in the tongue, hands, eyes, ears, and hearts of all. The second edition of the Greek Testament of Erasmus (Basel, 1518) furnished the text. With little apparatus, not even consulting previous translations until the first draught was finished, he worked with such rapidity that within three months the entire New Testament was in an idiomatic German that to the present hour is the wonder of all literary critics. His entire life and character are reflected in the style. All his attainments are kept subordinate to the one object of presenting the thoughts of Revelation in language that is the simplest and most intelligible to all classes of the people. In giving the Germans their Bible he gave the German language a permanent literary form, and, upon the basis of a common language replacing the confusion of dialects that had heretofore been current, unified the German people. The work was rendered relatively easy by his thorough acquaintance with both the language and the spirit of Scripture. His translation is not only a rendering of the original into another tongue; it is an interpretation that touches at once the heart and very life of the most unlettered as well as the most learned. The achievement of those three months would alone have given him lasting fame.

Having calculated with considerable accuracy the length of time required, he announced to his friends his purpose to return to Wittenberg after Easter. He desired, with the aid of his associates, to subject his translation to a thorough revision, and then to proceed to the Old Testament, for which his limited acquaintance with the Hebrew rendered their co-operation indispensable.

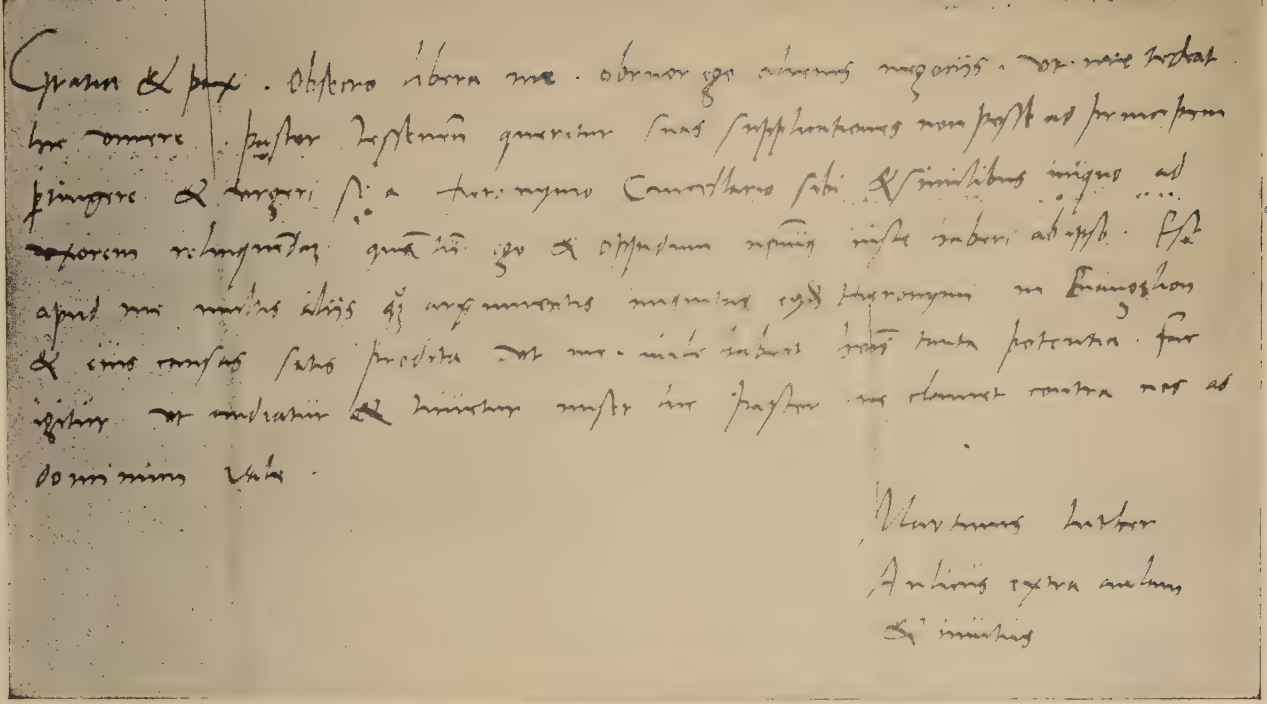


MELANCHTHON'S COAT OF ARMS.

BOOK III

THE REFORMER

1522–1546



FACSIMILE LETTER OF MARTIN LUTHER TO PASTOR LESTURUS, 1524.

DECISION CONCERNING A MATRIMONIAL QUESTION. (ORIGINAL IN COLLECTION OF MR. FREDERICK DREER, PHILADELPHIA.)

ELECTOR JOHN OF SAXONY.

CHAPTER I

CARLSTADT AND THE ZWICKAU PROPHETS

LUTHER was compelled to hasten from the Wartburg because of the alarming progress that the radical element had made at Wittenberg. The administration of the Lord's Supper in both forms would not have met his disapproval at the time, if it had not been accompanied by the abolition of all means whereby communicants were prepared for the service. In the neighbourhood, Zwilling discarded the vestments of the Mass, substituted the German for the Latin language, and gave the cup and wafers into the hands of communicants. The altars were removed from the chapel of the Augustinians and the images of the saints burned. Carlstadt affirmed that the Ten Commandments were aimed as directly against the retention of images in the churches as against adultery or theft. The sick and dying were left without the consolations of the Gospel, and criminals were led

to execution, as the ox meets its fate, without a word of religious instruction or prayer. Small children were given the Lord's Supper. Carlstadt, Zwilling, and More, the rector of the Boys' School, visited the plainest of the people, to seek from them the interpretation of difficult passages of Scripture, upon the assumption that these things are hidden from the wise and prudent, and revealed only to babes. All learning and study were disparaged, and parents were advised to take their children from school. The University began to feel the effects of such teaching. Students were abandoning their course, and even professors were contemplating a change of occupation.

The later extravagances of Carlstadt had been stimulated by a foreign influence that had entered Wittenberg, and found there a soil ready for its activity. On December 27, 1521, three men arrived in the town, who were followers and propagandists of the opinions of Thomas Muenzer of Zwickau. Two of them were by trade cloth-weavers, of whom the leader, Nicholas Storch, was one, while the third member of the party was a former Wittenberg student, who had lived in Melanchthon's house, Mark Thomas Stuebner. They depreciated the authority of the Holy Scriptures, professed to have immediate revelations and a direct call from God, and attacked the validity of infant baptism. At Wittenberg they were listened to with surprising consideration. Melanchthon and Amsdorf were unprepared to withstand them, and were much perplexed. An earnest appeal was made to the Elector

that Luther be sent for, as he only was able to deal with the difficult questions that were thus raised. That some supernatural influence was at work within them was to Melanchthon a matter of certainty. He hesitated to say that it was not of God. Neither the Elector nor Luther regarded the crisis so important. Luther wrote a mild letter of reproof to Melanchthon:

"I cannot approve of your timidity," he writes. "When they make professions concerning themselves, they are not to be immediately heard, but, according to the directions of John, the spirits must be tested. You have also the advice of Gamaliel concerning deferring judgment, for there is nothing, as far as I have heard, that they have said or done, that Satan cannot imitate. Only try, in my stead, whether they can prove their vocation. For God never sent any one, not even His Son, unless called by man, or approved by signs. Examine whether they have experienced spiritual distress. If you hear only smooth, tranquil, devout, and religious things of them, even though they profess to have been carried to the third heaven, do not give them your approval, because the sign of the Son of Man is wanting. Try them, therefore, and listen not even to the glorified Christ unless you have first seen Him crucified."

In answer to their attack upon infant baptism, he says:

"They urge nothing but the passage: 'He that believeth and is baptised, shall be saved.' But what proof is there that infants do not believe? Is it that they do not speak and declare their faith? According to this

test, at how many hours will we be Christians? What when we are asleep, or engaged in other matters? Cannot God, then, preserve faith in children in the same way, during the entire time of their infancy, as in a continual sleep? . . . By a singular miracle of God, it has come to pass that this article alone concerning the baptism of infants has never been called in question. No heretics, even, have denied it. The confession to its validity is constant and unanimous. . . . Whatever is not against Scripture, is for Scripture, and Scripture is for it."[1]

But upon what could Luther depend in this crisis at his home, when Melanchthon, the man upon whom, above all, the responsibility rested, commended the agitator Zwilling as one "who preaches so purely and plainly and spiritually, that you cannot find one to compare with him!"[2] The Elector's command, however, was peremptory that he should not stir from the Wartburg. But when the magistrates of Wittenberg and the congregation presented their appeal, he ventured to disobey. On the evening of March 3d, two Swiss students, on their way to Wittenberg, met him at the "Black Bear," in Jena. He was sitting alone at a table, in a knight's dress, his hand upon the hilt of a sword, and a Hebrew Bible before him. The unknown knight was peculiarly friendly, paid for their supper, and surprised them by his learning. Discussing current topics, he assured them that it would not be long until Luther would be again in Wittenberg. When the landlord expressed the opinion that the stranger was Luther,

[1] De Wette, 2: 124 *sqq*.

[2] *C. R.*, 1: 542.

he was not credited. They ventured to ask their companion whether he were not Hutten, and received the answer that he was not. When they bade him good-bye, he asked them to call upon Dr. Schurf, when they reached Wittenberg, and to present the regards of the "one who is coming." From Borna he wrote to the Elector, explaining his return, and assuring Frederick that he relied upon a Higher Power than that of the Saxon court for his protection. "I can offer Your Highness more protection than Your Highness can offer me." As he had to pass through the territory of Duke George, he declared that if matters at Leipzig were in the same condition as at Wittenberg, he would make straight for Leipzig, even though for nine days it would rain Duke Georges nine times as furious as the one who threatened him. All that the Elector could do was to request the preparation of a temperate paper, explaining the reasons for his return, which would be in proper form for presentation to the Imperial Council.

Reaching home on Thursday, March 6, 1522, the next day was spent upon this report, and Saturday among his friends, in order to learn the precise state of affairs. When, on that afternoon, the two Swiss students called upon Dr. Schurf to communicate the message with which they had been entrusted by the strange knight at the "Black Bear," they were surprised to be greeted by him in the room into which they were ushered. The next day, being the First Sunday in Lent, he began in the Parish Church a series of eight sermons [1] upon the crisis. Although

[1] Erlangen, 28: 202 *sqq.*

the provocation could scarcely have been greater, neither a word of denunciation, nor the least reference to the leaders of the agitation, escaped his lips. No other weapon is used to reclaim his erring people than a clear statement of the Scriptural teaching that bears upon the events. "By the Word alone those things are to be attacked that our men have been attempting to abolish by violence." Assuming that the congregation has laid to heart the fact that they are sinners, and that the Lord Jesus Christ alone is their salvation, he charges them with lacking Christian love and patience. It is not enough to have faith, but we must see to it that our faith and liberty in Christ be not used to the injury of our brethren. If alone, I can wield a naked sword as I please, but if in a crowd, I must beware, lest, by my carelessness, I injure others. Much that had occurred in his absence he approved, but regretted that not sufficient consideration had been had for the weak. In regard even to those matters where God's word allows no freedom, we dare not attempt to constrain others by any other means than that of the preaching of this same Word. We must say: "Dear sirs, abandon the Mass. Your way of celebrating it is not right, and you are sinning and provoking God's wrath." But if you cannot convince them, you cannot force them by other means. "I will preach and talk and write against these things: but no one will I attempt to force." "The Word that has created the heavens and the earth must do this, or it will be left undone."

These sermons, by their calm presentation of the

truth, disarmed all opposition. Melanchthon was strengthened. Zwilling confessed his errors. The Council of Wittenberg presented both Luther and his father with substantial testimonials of their appreciation of his services. Capito, chaplain of the Archbishop of Mayence, having heard of the two sermons, was converted by them to the evangelical side. The Zwickau agitators were absent when Luther appeared upon the scene. Stuebner, some weeks later, sought an interview with Luther, but obtained it with great difficulty. In the presence of Melanchthon, Luther administered such a reprimand that Stuebner left Wittenberg that very day. Storch called upon Luther in the autumn of the same year. Luther writes of him as a frivolous man, who seemed to have but one idea, viz., that of the abolition of infant baptism.

LUTHER AND MELANCHTHON.

CHAPTER II

REBUILDING

WITH the eight sermons preached against the Zwickau prophets in Lent, 1522, alluded to above, in the Parochial Church at Wittenberg, Luther resumed his position as regular preacher during the continued disablement of its pastor, Brueck. Under Brueck's successor, Bugenhagen, his services in the same capacity were frequent. According to the principles taught in the eight sermons, and still more fully elaborated in a pamphlet, *Of the Two Forms of the Sacrament*,[1] he proceeded to restore much of the service that Carlstadt had abolished. While Carlstadt had administered the Lord's Supper without requiring any previous preparation, Luther introduced the practice whereby all intending to commune applied previously to the pastor, in order that, where it was desirable, there might be opportunity for instruction

[1] Erlangen, 28 : 285 *sqq.*

DR. JOHN BUGENHAGEN.

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY CRANACH, 1548.

and admonition. The communion was administered in one or both forms, according to the desire of the communicant. From the liturgical formularies every reference to the thought of a sacrifice in the Mass was eliminated. Daily masses were no longer said. In the Castle Church, upon the door of which Luther had nailed his Theses, the innovations of Carlstadt had found no entrance, and the clergy of the Chapter officiating there were so attached to the old order, that the Roman Mass was retained unchanged, until, after a most vigorous struggle, it was abandoned late in 1524. In the church of the Cloister, however, where Luther officiated every Sunday morning at early service, the communion was always administered in both forms. The diversity in the three churches of Wittenberg indicates the confusion prevalent in a period of transition. Desirable as uniformity might be, he was satisfied, for the time, that the essentials of the service, viz., the Words of Institution, were retained.

With all his energy he now devoted himself, with the assistance of his colleagues, especially Melanchthon, to the thorough revision of his translation of the New Testament. The court jewels, through Spalatin's intervention, were borrowed, in order that a better conception of the precious stones described in the Book of Revelation might be formed. The first edition appeared in September, and the second in December, 1522. Introductions to each book of the New Testament and glosses upon many passages accompanied the translation. Among the introductions is the famous one to the Epistle to the

Romans,[1] remarkable not only for its eloquence and vigour, but also summarising, within a few pages, what Luther conceived to be the argument not only of the Epistle, but also of all Scripture. During this summer he published Melanchthon's commentary on Romans, without its author's consent, or even his knowledge, until the printed volume appeared upon the desk of the astonished professor.

Into the details of his visitation of the churches, made shortly after Easter, we cannot enter, except to note that his journey through Albertine Saxony was attended with no inconsiderable danger because of the hostility of Duke George; that at Zwickau no less than 25,000 people streamed together from all the surrounding country to see him and to hear him preach, and that of his four sermons there, one was preached from an open window of the *Rathhaus* to the crowds beneath. Nor can we more than mention his important services at Erfurt, in October, 1522, in bringing order out of the confusion that there prevailed.

The controversy with King Henry VIII. of England was merely an episode of this period, without any influence upon the main work which then occupied Luther. The vanity of the King, who especially boasted of his attainments in scholastic theology, eagerly availed itself of the opportunity for a display of learning in a reply to Luther's book on *The Babylonian Captivity*. It won from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith," and the reward of an indulgence of ten years to every one

[1] Erlangen, 63: 119.

of its readers. Translated into German, it was extensively circulated wherever there was prospect of injuring thereby Luther's cause. Even previously, during the Diet of Worms, Henry had written to the Emperor, urging the punishment of Luther and the extirpation of the "Lutheran pestilence, poison, and death," by fire and sword. The question with Luther was simply whether or not the book should be answered. If it was to be answered, he had to deal not with the King of England, but with the scholastic theologian on its throne, and the violent persecutor of God's word. When Henry directly called Luther "a devil," "more pernicious than all Turks, Saracens, and unbelievers," he abandoned all claim to the courtesies due his royal rank, and issued a challenge which he was surprised to find so promptly accepted. Never was king so scored in a polemical treatise, as was Henry in Luther's answer, written in both Latin and German,[1] which is so severe that, even to the present day, it awakens sympathy for the victim, "by God's disgust King of England," from those not considering the extremity of the provocation. Henry's appeal to the Elector to call Luther to an account was fruitless, since the Elector only held out the hope of a future general council as the remedy for all ecclesiastical differences and wrongs.

Another incident was the controversy occasioned by the attempts to suppress the circulation of Luther's translation of the New Testament, which

[1] Latin in *Op. var. arg.*, vi., 382 *sqq.*; German in Erlangen, 28: 343 *sqq.*

was received everywhere as the most popular book of the day. A bitter opponent, Cochlæus, has recorded his testimony concerning the manner in which even shoemakers and women became absorbed in its study, so as to be able in a short time to carry on discussions with doctors of theology. In Bavaria, Austria, and Mark Brandenburg, the strictest measures were taken to exclude it. Duke George not only under severe penalties forbade any one to have it in his possession in Albertine Saxony, but paid the price for all copies surrendered. His chaplain, Emser, a former friend of Luther, who had before this time written against him, published, in the beginning of 1523, a tract, charging Luther's translation with over 1400 errors, which, on examination, proved to be chiefly variations from the inaccurate text of the Latin Vulgate. Four years later, when Emser attempted to meet the demand for a German New Testament by an approved Catholic translation, he showed his critical attainments by the simple method of transcribing Luther's translation, with such changes as would make it conform with the Vulgate. To serve those who were under perplexity as to their duty, when their copies of the New Testament were demanded, Luther published, at the very beginning of 1523, a tract on *How Far is a Christian under Obligation to Obey the Magistrates?*[1] This is a discriminating discussion of the Scriptural basis for civil government. After citing the positive authority of Scripture and arguing for the perpetual validity of Old Testament

[1] Erlangen, 22: 59 *sqq.*

testimonies, he shows how such texts as Matt. v., 38, 39; Rom. xii., 19; 1 Pet. iii., 9, have been misapplied by those claiming that the New Testament has either annulled all civil ordinances or absolved Christians from obedience. Dividing men into two classes, Christians and unbelievers, he says that the former belong to the kingdom of Christ, and the latter to the kingdom of the world. The former, so far as they are Christians, need no worldly sword or laws, but are governed by the Holy Spirit dwelling within them. If all the world were completely Christianised, all rulers and codes of laws could be abolished. Good trees bear apples without any books of instruction to guide them. Laws must be made and enforced, because of those who are not true Christians (1 Tim. i., 9), just as wild beasts must be kept in chains and cages. True Christians, however, even in Christian lands are rare. The great mass is composed of unbelievers. To abolish the civil government, and to attempt to rule an entire country simply by means of the Gospel, would be as though a shepherd were to turn lions and wolves into the same stall with the sheep, and bid them live in harmony. The sheep, of course, would keep the peace; but how long would they remain unmolested? Both governments must therefore be maintained; the one to keep the outward peace and repress the lawless; the other to promote faith and a godly life.

But the civil government must not be allowed to assume for itself what belongs to the spiritual. With the thought of the soul, or the faith of the

heart, it has nothing to do. No one can believe or disbelieve for me; neither can one force me to faith or unbelief. Faith must be free, or there is no faith. When a ruler commands one to adhere to the Pope, or to believe in him, answer should be made that a cheerful obedience will be rendered in regard to everything that properly belongs to the civil ruler; but that in regard to what is beyond, the demand is an act of tyranny. If such ruler should require copies of the New Testament to be surrendered, "not a page, not even a letter, dare be surrendered, or the soul's salvation will be imperilled. . . . For he who does so, surrenders Christ to Herod." If, however, the houses be searched, and copies be found, no resistance should be made to their removal; "only such service should not be aided by the moving of a foot or the lifting of a finger."

"From the beginning of the world, a prudent ruler has been a rare bird; much rarer still is one that is godly. Ordinarily they are the greatest fools or the worst rascals on earth, and little good is to be expected of them, especially in divine things which concern the soul's salvation. For they are God's jailers and hangmen, and God's wrath uses them to punish the wicked and maintain external peace. Our God is a great Lord, and He must have hangmen who are wealthy and noble and of exalted lineage."

In conclusion he addresses rulers who are really Christians, not as rulers, but as Christians called to discharge such important duties. "Cursed is every life," he says, "that is occupied only with its own

profit and enjoyment; cursed is every work that is not prompted by love." The entire paper is an illustration of the character of Luther's polemical writings. However severe they are, their chief value lies in the thorough discussion of principles. Mere denunciation would soon have expended itself and been forgotten; the carefully matured thought that accompanies it renders Luther's pamphlets upon the living questions of the day permanent treasures.

Such controversies were merely incidental. He realised that his most important work was the completion of the translation of the Bible. At this he laboured so incessantly that we can scarcely understand how time was found for other literary undertakings. Even before the New Testament appeared from the press, work upon the Old Testament was begun. It received a fresh impulse by the warm reception given the translation of the New Testament. But in passing from the one part of his work to the other, he experienced peculiar difficulties. Although in his study of the Psalms he had for years used the Hebrew, he candidly acknowledged how defective his knowledge of the language was, and gladly availed himself of the learning of Aurogallus, the Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, and of Melanchthon. Two other Wittenberg teachers, Ziegler and Foerster, were soon called in for consultation, as were Bugenhagen and Roerer. For a time, a weekly *collegium* was held, beginning a few hours before supper, in which the various texts and translations were faithfully compared. Often the work was most tedious, days being spent upon a

few lines, Job being particularly difficult, and, as he said, resisting the efforts to translate his language with as much ill-nature as the patriarch received the consolations of his friends. When the meaning of a passage was once settled, in joint discussion, it became the work of Luther to find for it an idiomatic rendering that would make it intelligible to the plainest people.[1] In spite of numerous interruptions, the Pentateuch was completed within three months from the publication of the New Testament, and appeared at the beginning of the next year. In 1524, two parts of the work were published, the former comprising the Historical Books, and the latter, Job, the Psalms, and the so-called writings of Solomon. Other important engagements frequently intervening delayed the completion of the canonical books until 1532, and of the Apocrypha until 1534, when the first edition of the complete translation was published.

The thorough reformation of the worship of the Church could not be longer delayed. The arrangements made on Luther's return from the Wartburg were understood to be provisional. As time passed, the hopes of any reform by the bishops vanished. The people were well instructed by Luther's constant preaching and writings; and hence the plea of accommodation to the weak had lost much of its force. With the New Testament and the Psalms translated and in the hands of the people, the next thing was to provide for their use by the congrega-

[1] See letter of September 8, 1530, Erlangen, 65 : 102 *sqq.*, for full statement of the plan pursued.

tion. The demand for a change came not only from Wittenberg, but from other places also, where, while the faith of the Reformation had been accepted, all the provisions for public worship were unsatisfactory. The necessity was also urgent for new regulations in the congregational organisation, which would provide for the support of the clergy, since the saying of masses and other current modes of income were no longer legitimate; and for the election of pastors by the congregations without the interference of outside ecclesiastics.

About Easter, 1523, he accordingly prepared such regulations for the congregation at Leisnig in Saxony, as well as a paper concerning Public Worship.[1] A new Order for the daily services was introduced into the Parochial Church at Wittenberg, which heretofore had been closed during week-days, except when demanded by some particular occasion. Daily morning services were introduced with the understanding that similar services were to be afterwards provided for in the evening. They were of the most simple character, consisting of a Scripture lesson (from the New Testament in the morning, and from the Old Testament in the evening), an exposition of the lesson read, and an intercessory prayer. For boys in school and all others who could be profited by them, he advises the continuance of the daily Matins and Vespers, since they consist almost entirely of selections from the Scriptures. The Sunday services, as the times for the worship of the entire congregation, have a higher

[1] Richter, i., 10 *sqq.*; Erlangen, 22 : 105 *sqq.*

value attached to them. Here, again, the ordinary chants and collects are to be retained, since they are generally of a Scriptural character.

The baptismal formulary, hitherto used only in Latin, was translated by Luther into German, with some abbreviations, additions, and amendments, in order that the people might understand what this sacrament actually meant. This was followed in December by the *Formula Missæ*, or "Order for the full Morning or Communion Service,"[1] dedicated to his friend Nicholas Hausmann, pastor at Zwickau, to whom the confusion wrought by the presence of the fanatics rendered such an order especially serviceable. After warning against the spirit that is constantly attempting innovations, he lays down the principle that everything in the ancient service not contrary to the Word of God is to be retained. Each part of the Roman Mass is then critically examined, with the result that an evangelical Order, upon clear historical foundations, is approved. Its several members are the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria in Excelsis, Collects, the received Gospels and Epistles for the day, the Hallelujah, the Nicene Creed, and the full Communion Service for every Sunday. The sermon is an indispensable factor, but much difficulty is acknowledged concerning its place in the Service. Luther is most careful to vindicate the claims of Christian freedom, and to declare that unity in the faith is far more important than uniformity of outward organisation. This became the foundation of the numerous Lutheran Orders, some prepared with

[1] Erlangen, 22: 151 *sqq.*; Richter, i., 2 *sqq.*

his direct co-operation, and others by Bugenhagen (who was particularly active within this sphere, in Pomerania, Northern Germany, and Denmark), Melanchthon, Jonas, Brentz, Osiander, Veit Dietrich, and other of his associates, who were appointed to discharge such duties by various countries and provinces.

His next aim was, instead of mere listeners, to make the people active participants, with heart and voice, in all the various parts of the service. This he accomplished partly by introducing popular hymns, mainly translations of psalms and chants sung hitherto by the choir. Justus Jonas and Paul Speratus aided in the work, but the chief hand in it was that of Luther himself. Of his thirty-six hymns, twenty-four are traced to the years 1523 and 1524. A popular ballad on the burning of the two Lutheran martyrs of the Netherlands, Henry Voes and John von Esch, July 1, 1523, called forth his first efforts as a poet. Several verses of this have been reproduced in the English lines, "Flung to the heedless winds," etc. Seven of his hymns are adaptations of the Psalms, in which he unfolds the New Testament thought implied, but not expressed, in the Old Testament language. Several other passages of Scripture (Is. vi., 1–4; Luke ii., 13, 14, 29–32) were made the basis of hymns. Twelve ancient Latin hymns and chants were freely rendered into German, adaptations of several older German hymns made, and five are entirely original with Luther. They have all the popularity and spirit and devotional unction of his translation of

the Bible, during the progress of which the most of them were composed. How deeply they soon became rooted in the minds and hearts of the people, and how powerful the impression they produced, when sung to melodies hitherto used for secular songs, are illustrated by the manner in which the attempt of the opponents of Luther to preach against his doctrines was met on two occasions. At Brunswick, in 1527, a plain citizen, at the close of a sermon by Dr. Sprengel of Magdeburg, started *Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein*, which was at once sung by the entire congregation to the complete discomfiture of the preacher. Two years later, there was a similar occurrence at Luebeck, where two boys started the same hymn.

"With frauds which they themselves invent
Thy truth they have confounded:
Their hearts are not with one consent
On Thy pure doctrine grounded:
And, while they gleam with outward show,
They lead Thy people to and fro,
In error's maze astounded.

"God surely will uproot all those
With vain deceits who store us,
With haughty tongue who God oppose,
And say: 'Who 'll stand before us?
By right or might we will prevail:
What we determine cannot fail,
For who can lord it o'er us?'

"'For this,' saith God, 'I will arise.
These wolves My sheep are rending;
I 've heard My people's bitter sighs
To heaven, My throne, ascending:

FRANZ VON SICKINGEN.

Now I will up, and set at rest
Each weary soul by fraud opprest,
The poor with might defending.' "[1]

The first evangelical Hymn-Book, published in 1524, contains only eight hymns, of which four are Luther's. Another book of the same year, the Erfurt *Enchiridion*, has twenty-five, eighteen of them by Luther; and still another, the *Geistliches Gesangbuch*, for the use of schoolboys as choristers, thirty-two, of which twenty-four are Luther's. His greatest hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, with its inspiring tune, also of his composition, which ranks as a musical classic, was long believed to have been written about the time of the Diet of Spires, in 1529, but is now referred to 1527. It is called by Heine "the *Marseillaise* of the Reformation."

"A Fortress firm, a Shield, a Sword,
A Help in all distresses,
A Refuge strong is God the Lord,
However danger presses.
The enemy, I know,
Maddened, with rage doth glow.
Boundless the power and art,
Back of each cruel dart.
Earth never had his equal.

"Sure were the field left to my might,
All would be pure disaster;
But I 've a Comrade in this fight,
Who any foe can master.
If you should ask His name,
It is the very same
Before which angels kneel,
And at which devils quail,
Jesus, true God and Conqueror.

[1] Translation of Frances Elizabeth Cox.

"Then let Hell's hosts flood all the land,
With myriads trained to end me;
Why should I fear to make a stand,
When such brave arms defend me?
One moment—and 't is done,
The victory is won;
The Mighty Prince is found,
Judged, prostrate on the ground;
The smallest word can fell him.

"Ah, then, the Word you 'll let remain,
A generous foeman surely!
While Christ 's with me upon the plain,
My heart shall rest securely.
Come, take whate'er you see,
There is no loss to me,
His Spirit makes me strong,
His gifts call forth my song,
His kingdom 's mine forever."[1]

The hymn, *Nun freut euch lieben Christen gemein*, is a condensed statement of Luther's Christian experience, and the plan of salvation, which became a great favourite, because it spake the language of many hearts. Hesshusius says: "Through this one hymn of Luther's many hundreds of Christians have been brought to the true faith, who before could not endure the name of Luther."

His Christmas hymn, never to be separated from the tune which he composed for it, is known by almost every German child.

"Good news from heaven the angels bring,
Glad tidings to the earth they sing:
To us this day a child is given,
To crown us with the joy of heaven.
. . . . . .

[1] Translation by H. E. J. (1886).

"All hail, Thou noble Guest, this morn,
Whose love did not the sinner scorn!
In my distress Thou cam'st to me:
What thanks shall I return to Thee?

"Were earth a thousand times as fair,
Beset with gold and jewels rare,
She yet were far too poor to be
A narrow cradle, Lord, for Thee.

"Ah, dearest Jesus, Holy Child!
Make Thee a bed, soft, undefiled,
Within my heart, that it may be
A quiet chamber kept for Thee.

"Praise God upon His heavenly throne,
Who gave to us His only Son:
For this His hosts, on joyful wing,
A blest New Year of mercy sing."[1]

He directed attention also to the importance of the schools, in a treatise addressed to the mayors and aldermen of the cities of Germany,[2] which was translated into Latin by Melanchthon immediately after its publication. The schools, in order to be worthy of support, he says, must be thoroughly Christian both in teaching and in spirit. Nothing can be clearer than the duty of parents to give their children the best education attainable. Parents who excuse themselves upon the plea that they will teach their children at home, as a rule, make a great blunder, since this important work requires a class of teachers who have special gifts and training for the work, and even where parents have exceptional abilities, their regular employments make the education of their children only a side matter. He tries

[1] Translation by Arthur Tozer Russell and Miss Winkworth, abridged, *cf.* Schaff's *Christ in Song*, p. 55. [2] *Ib.*, 22: 168 *sqq.*

to raise the standard of popular education by insisting upon the study of the classical languages as indispensable, not only for the preservation of the knowledge of God's Word, but also for all good citizenship and respectable culture. He would have the children taught also history, music, both vocal and instrumental, and a complete course of mathematics. The learning of a trade, he thinks, could be readily combined with such schooling, by devoting to the school an hour or two in every day, and giving the rest of the day to manual labour. Much of the time spent in ball-playing, he suggests, could be used in physical labour pertaining to the future calling. The girls, as well as the boys, should have these advantages, dividing their time between assisting at home with the housework, and spending an hour or two a day at school. He calls attention to the importance of public libraries. Lamenting the short-sightedness of the Germans in this respect, he declares that, while the Greeks and Romans, and even the Hebrews, had taken the greatest care to commit everything memorable to writing, the Germans had neglected to record their heroic deeds and wise maxims, and, on this account, had not the reputation among foreign nations that was their due. Luther's relation to the entire Public-School System is thus most intimate; since it was largely in response to this appeal that new life and the most thorough reforms were introduced into the schools of Germany. Nothing is more foreign to Luther's mind than the idea that a liberal education is to be encouraged within the Church only as a preparation for theological training.

LUTHER AS TEACHER.

CHAPTER III

THE LINES DRAWN

WHEN the ceaseless activity of Luther, and the courageous manner in which he continued to reiterate his doctrines and to criticise, in the severest terms, the Papacy, are considered, the question as to why the Edict of Worms was not enforced against him very naturally arises. The burning of a few of his books and of some copies of the New Testament, and the prohibition of their possession and circulation, were impotent barriers against the spread of his writings, as they came forth, with astonishing rapidity, from the press, and found everywhere purchasers and readers. His effective measures, on his return from the Wartburg, in checking the fanatical movement, had shown that he was no radical, and that the cause of the rulers was safer in his presence than in his absence. Many influential persons in the government felt the power of his arguments, and of his conservative and discriminative treatment of the great issues of the

hour. Even the sister of the Emperor, Isabella, Queen of Denmark, was ultimately won to his side.

A change had occurred in the Papacy. Leo X. had died, December 1, 1521, and had been succeeded by Adrian VI., for thirty years a professor of theology at Louvain, an Inquisitor-General in Spain, and a former tutor of Charles V. He was a man of irreproachable character and of moral earnestness, whose antagonism to Luther was due more to Luther's attacks upon the scholastic theology than to his denial of the authority of the Pope, or his assertion of the necessity of reform. Unexpectedly called to the papal chair, without any scheming on his part, this Dutch Pope sought to deprive the Reformation of its weapons by rigid ascetic practices for himself and by seeking to reform abuses in the outward life at Rome.

Encouraged by the absence of the Emperor and the dissensions in ecclesiastical matters among the Electoral princes, Franz von Sickingen had raised the standard of open revolt, and in August, 1522, had attacked the territory of the Elector and Archbishop of Treves, under the pretext, among others, of asserting the claims of religious liberty. The evangelical princes were not deceived by this plea, but forgetting all religious differences, rallied as one man to the support of the Archbishop. The revolt came to a disastrous termination with the speedy defeat of Sickingen, the capture of himself and all his possessions, the burning of the most of his castles, and his own death from a wound received in battle. In the beginning, before his plans were ap-

parent, Luther had not repulsed the approaches of Sickingen, and had even dedicated to him a book written at the Wartburg, and familiarly corresponded with his kinsman and confederate, Hartmuth von Kronberg. But from the moment that he unsheathed his sword, he lost Luther's sympathy. Long before the collapse of the rebellion, Melanchthon wrote of the great injury that Sickingen was doing the cause of Luther, and declared the purpose of the knights to be only robbery.

It was while such events were transpiring that the Imperial Diet assembled at Nuremberg at the close of 1522. In anticipation of the presence of the Elector, the Pope sent him, by a special messenger, an earnest letter, admonishing him of his responsibility and duty. Chieregati appeared as the Pope's legate, bringing a communication asking for aid against the Turks and Luther, and the prompt and rigorous execution of the Edict of Worms. Another communication to Ferdinand asked for the imprisonment of the preachers of the churches of St. Sebald and St. Lawrence, and the Augustinians at Nuremberg, who preached and held services according to the evangelical order, as well as of all monks who had abandoned the monasteries. As a concession to the prevalent dissatisfaction, he made the most candid acknowledgments concerning the deterioration of the Papacy, and declared that it was no wonder that the disease had spread from the head to the members.

The members of the Diet answered that, in view of the condition of things acknowledged by the Pope,

any procedure against Luther would be extremely impolitic. As he had been the instrument of calling attention to these acknowledged abuses, any such action would be interpreted as a tyrannical effort to suppress the Gospel. The evangelical preachers at Nuremberg, even the fiery Osiander, were unmolested in the free exercise of their office. The Diet recommended the convening of a general council upon German territory within a year, and that the Elector of Saxony be asked to prevent Luther meantime from issuing any further publications. No additional punishment was to be inflicted upon monks deserting their monasteries than the loss of all monastic rights and income.

The Pope's letter to the Diet Luther translated into German, and published with notes and a supplement. With regard to the prohibition to publish, he declared that he could not be silent as long as his opponents continued in their publications to misrepresent the Gospel. The Pope wrote a second letter to the Elector, threatening him with both the temporal and the spiritual sword, unless he heeded the papal injunction.

Adrian's career was short. He died September 24, 1523, carrying with him to his grave the reputation of a good priest, but a poor pope, despised by the Italians because of his birth in the Netherlands, and by the Germans as an unsophisticated and pedantic representative of Scholasticism. His best qualities were out of place at Rome, while his weaknesses were conspicuous in his efforts to master the storm in Germany.

Clement VII., a cousin of Leo X., elected after a protracted contest Adrian's successor, sent, as his legate, to the Second Diet of Nuremberg, in January, 1524, Cardinal Campeggi, who was made to feel that he was on uncongenial soil. Not only was there a significant absence of the honours that ordinarily greeted so high a dignitary, but he met everywhere the most marked indications of the general popular hostility.

From the pulpit of the Church of St. Lawrence Osiander inveighed against the "Papal Antichrist." Thousands received the communion in both forms at the Easter season. Among them were thirty or forty of Ferdinand's retinue; and, most mortifying and significant of all to the friends of the Pope, the sister of the Emperor and Ferdinand, Isabella, Queen of Denmark, was one of the number. All the Emperor's entreaties for the execution of the Edict of Worms were seen to be useless. Another request for a general council, a preparatory conference of German princes and estates, to be held at Spires on November 11th, and the promise to conform to the decrees of Worms, with the significant qualification "as far as possible," manifested again the spirit of compromise that endeavoured to keep the peace by an insincere combination of contradictories. A vain expedient! The Emperor, the Pope, and Luther were for once united. Luther promptly exposed the imbecility of the edict by publishing it together with that of Worms, under the title: *Two Imperial Contradictory Demands concerning Luther.*[1]

[1] Erlangen, 24: 210 *sqq.*

He shows how the Diet of Nuremberg at once endorsed the Edict of Worms condemning him, and at the same time provided for a general council in which an impartial hearing of his case was promised. He calls them a beautiful set of men to war against the Turks, since the Turks are ten times as godly as they are! The Pope pronounced the edict an insult to himself as well as to the Emperor. The Emperor wrote a caustic letter, in which he denounced the Diet of Nuremberg as an infringement upon his prerogatives.

The result was the assembling at Regensburg (Ratisbon), in June, 1524, under the presidency of the papal legate, of the princes whose loyalty to the Roman pontiff was unquestioned. The Archduke Ferdinand, the two dukes of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and a large number of bishops of Southern Germany, bound themselves together to procure the energetic execution of the Edict of Worms. Thus the Roman party took the initiative in rending the political unity of Germany into two divisions, according as the Roman Catholic or the Lutheran faith prevailed.

Between the two sides the lines were now sharply drawn. The time for decision had come. The mere formulation of such compromises as those of Nuremberg was sufficient to exhibit the inherent weakness of the entire spirit of which it was an expression. The Elector, to whom the Reformation owed so much, had joyfully accepted the clearer statement of evangelical doctrine which it had presented, and, with great courage, protected Luther and his associates in their rights as private Christians

and public teachers; nevertheless, he had studiously avoided the position of a partisan. Strange to say, the Elector and Luther had never met! Only twice in his life did Luther see Frederick, and then at a distance. The Elector's constant plea was for toleration; theological questions, he urged, as a layman, he should be excused from deciding. It could not be expected that he would apprehend rapidly the full consequences of the evangelical position; as late as 1522, he was still collecting relics for his Castle Church, and, in 1524, favoured the retention of the ceremonies of the Mass. Luther moved too rapidly and acted too radically for his mild and conciliatory, although firm and decisive spirit. Spalatin, his private secretary and chaplain, and Luther's intimate friend, was the medium through whom the two conferred. But it was only by Luther's urgent intervention that near the close of his life, Spalatin was induced to remain in a position in which he apprehended that he was losing influence. The result showed that Luther's judgment was correct. At Easter, 1525, Frederick had the German Mass introduced at his residence at Lochau, and, on his death-bed, a few weeks later, received the holy communion in both forms, and without extreme unction. The funeral services were arranged with Luther's advice, and two sermons were preached by him on successive days, in which he paid the most touching tributes to his discreet and peace-loving ruler. In his brother John, who succeeded to the electorate, the Reformation found a friend, who had already been prominent as a public champion.

While the Ernestine branch of the House of Saxony was thus committed to Luther's cause, the hostility of the Albertine branch was increased by an uncomplimentary reference to Duke George, of whom Luther had spoken in a letter to Hartmuth von Kronberg as "a mere bubble on the water," and which he declined to retract. Everywhere the movement was spreading. If the zeal of the Augustinians, whose convents formed centres of influence for the diffusion of Luther's doctrines, be urged as indicating that the Reformation originated in the rivalry of the religious orders, the active participation of members of other orders, of which we have already noted examples, refutes the charge. Nevertheless, the agency of the Augustinians was a powerful factor. The support of enthusiastic students going forth in large numbers from Wittenberg, and the incessant stream of publications from his pen, were still more important elements. No attempt had been made at organised propagandism; Luther relied upon the inherent power of the Word.

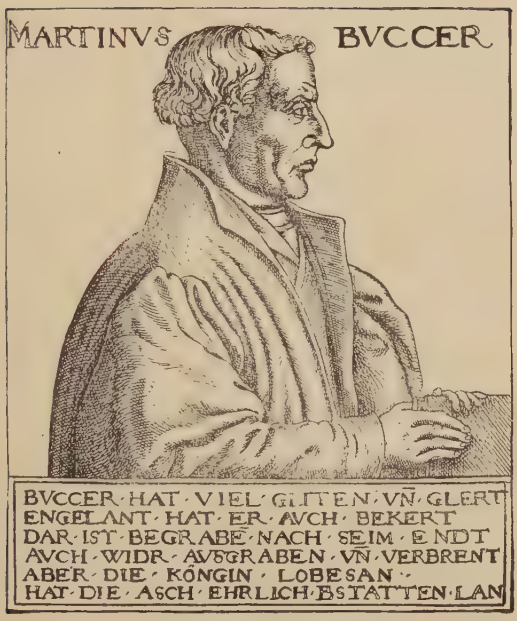
In the Netherlands, Jacob Spreng, commonly called Probst, the prior of the Augustinians at Antwerp, and Henry Moeller of Zuetphen, as early as 1519 were pronounced adherents of Luther. Both studied at Wittenberg, the latter subsequently marrying one of Luther's near relatives. The doctors of the University of Louvain having appealed in 1519 to Margaret, the Emperor's sister, during her regency, with the complaint that Luther's writings were subverting all Christianity, she is reported to have asked: "And who is Luther?"

"An unlearned man," they answered. "Well, then," she replied, "I think there are enough of you to take care of him, since one unlearned man cannot be a match for the many learned men arrayed against him!" In 1521 persecutions began. Probst wavered in the face of danger, and recanted; but soon regained confidence, and, recalling his recantation, laboured at Bremen. In 1522, a special commissioner was appointed to search for Luther's writings. On July 1, 1523, the first two martyrs of the Lutheran faith, Henry Voes and John von Esch, were burned at Brussels, chanting the *Te Deum* responsively in the midst of the flames. Henry von Zuetphen, delivered from prison by a popular uprising in 1522, became a martyr December 11, 1524. Other martyrs were a bookseller of Pesth, burned with Luther's books which he had on sale, and Caspar Tauber, of Vienna, who was beheaded.

Early in 1524, the rulers of Mecklenburg, without openly declaring their acceptance of the evangelical cause, wrote to Luther for evangelists, whom he promptly sent. Count Albrecht of Mansfeld and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, although the latter was a son-in-law of Duke George, openly declared their allegiance to the Reformation. The Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, the Grand Master of the influential order of Teutonic Knights ruling Prussia, under the influence of Osiander's preaching, during his attendance upon the Diet of Nuremberg, was won to the evangelical faith, and applied to Luther for advice in the reformation of his order. In this he was supported by the knights and two of the

Prussian bishops, George von Polenz of Samland, and Erhard von Queiss of Pomerania. Dr. John Briesmann, Paul Speratus, and John Poliander, having been sent to Prussia, became the evangelists of that country. The abolition of celibacy among the knights virtually abolishing the order, and the form of government being changed, Albrecht became Duke of Prussia, and formally introduced the Reformation. In many of the larger cities of Germany, the sympathies of the highest classes of society were enlisted on its behalf. Prominent among these was Nuremberg, where Luther's friend, Wenceslaus Link, was preacher in the Augustinian monastery, and Lawrence Spengler was one of the most influential councillors, and Osiander was pastor. Here the popular poet, Hans Sachs, especially in his *Wittenberger Nachtigall*, devoted his extraordinary genius to the advancement of the cause in which Luther had enlisted, while Albrecht Dürer, one of Germany's greatest painters, belonged to the inner circle of its adherents. To Magdeburg Amsdorf was called as pastor in 1524, and Cruciger became the rector of the High School. In Strassburg, Zell, Bucer, and Capito were labouring in the same spirit as early as 1523; while that same year the activity of John Brenz was already making itself felt, and he soon had earnest co-labourers in Erhard Schnepf at Wimpfen, and Michael Stiefel at Esslingen. At Augsburg the Lord's Supper was administered in both forms in 1524 by Luther's friends, Frosch and Urban Regius.

Henry of Zuetphen preached the evangelical faith



DR. MARTIN BUCER.

in 1522 at Bremen, where his colleague and countryman, Probst, became pastor two years later. About the same time, Bugenhagen was called to Hamburg to introduce the Reformation; in Breslau the work advanced under the labours of John Hess, while in Riga, Reval, and Dorpat there were evangelical preachers in 1521, and to the evangelical Christians in these places Luther sent, in 1523, a summary of Christian doctrine, and in the next year an exposition of Psalm CXXVII., with a plan for the organisation of schools.

In Sweden, the efforts of Luther's pupils, the brothers Petersen, beginning in 1519, were approved by Gustavus Vasa on his accession in 1523. Christian II. of Denmark, nephew of the Elector Frederick, eagerly sought for support from the teachings of Luther in his struggles with the Danish clergy. Expelled from his country, his personal intercourse with Luther during a protracted stay at Wittenberg rendered him still more favourable, while his wife, the sister of the Emperor, openly announced her conversion to Lutheranism. But when the test came, Christian denied before the Emperor all sympathy with Luther. Meanwhile, however, the Reformation was introduced into Denmark by his successor, King Frederick.

The interest which Luther had manifested in the Bohemians ever since the Leipzig Disputation, found expression in his effort at this time to promote their entire independence of the Papacy. The Utraquists, or Calixtine Bohemians, insisting upon the administration of the Lord's Supper in both

forms, but in other respects agreeing with the Roman Catholics, and regarding ordination by one in the regular succession of bishops an essential, had been compelled, since the Pope would not concede them bishops of their own, to send their candidates to Italy for ordination. Learning in 1522 of a possible reconciliation between them and the Papacy, he wrote them a letter urging them to surrender neither the communion in both forms, nor the memory of their martyrs, Hus and Jerome of Prague. The next year one of their clergy, Gallus Cahera, spent several months in Wittenberg, and persuaded Luther to write a paper to the Council of the city of Prague, showing how the Christian ministry arises from the needs of the Christian congregations, and requires no external authority, whether from Rome or elsewhere. In his simplicity he was used by Cahera only to advance the latter's ambitious projects, which, in 1524, were repudiated by his countrymen. More success was anticipated from his negotiations with another party of the Bohemians, the Bohemian Brethren, or Hussites, with whom, through Speratus, he came into nearer relations. He wrote a treatise criticising their view of the Lord's Supper, and directing their attention to the legalistic spirit which characterised their otherwise estimable Christian life; while they replied by intimating that too much stress was placed by Lutherans upon the importance of learning.

The difference between Luther and Erasmus came into prominence in their renowned controversy concerning the freedom of the will. The distinguished

services of Erasmus in reviving interest in classical studies and insisting upon the importance of acquaintance with the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, as well as in his critical editions of the New Testament, and his protests against the abuses of monasticism, were always duly recognised by Luther. By the intervention of Melanchthon and Carlstadt, attempts had been made at an earlier period to bring them into nearer relations. There was an occasional interchange of letters, but as their protests against current abuses sprang from different sources, and their interests were very diverse, any co-operation was impossible. Luther had been forced into his position by his deep religious experience, culminating in the assurance of faith and the necessity of positive testimony to what he believed to be truth, without regard to the effect of that testimony upon his personal safety, or the external relations, whether his own or those of any party for which he was supposed to stand. Erasmus was without this experience, and wrote only as a cultivated critic, who could expose errors, but was without the call and without the courage to propose any scheme of improvement. He boasted of his love for peace as even surpassing his love for truth, looked with disfavour upon Luther's plainness and bluntness and carelessness of results, and was betrayed into constant inconsistencies by his attempts to retain favour and avoid ruptures. In 1523 Luther wrote of him to Œcolampadius:

"Erasmus has fulfilled the mission to which he was called. He has introduced the classical languages and

withdrawn us from godless studies. Possibly, he will die with Moses in the wilderness of Moab ; for he does not lead to the better studies, that advance godliness. I wish only he would stop commenting on Holy Scripture and writing paraphrases—a work to which he is not equal."[1]

To a scholar of the temperament of Erasmus, the situation was most embarrassing. He wished to offend neither side; and yet the time came when an attack upon Luther was the price demanded for a continuance of the favour of those with whom he had been acting. Two Popes, Leo and Adrian, urged him to the undertaking. Luther also sought, by private correspondence in 1524, to dissuade him from becoming the open advocate of those abuses which he had so severely arraigned. But the pressure from the other side was too strong, especially since Henry VIII., from whom he had a pension, vigorously demanded his interference. With great adroitness, Erasmus chose for his attack a topic which would not compel him to treat of any of those matters upon which he had already given clear testimony against the Papacy. The complete helplessness of man's will in regaining God's favour Erasmus had never learned, and hence from a purely philosophical standpoint he found abundant arguments against Luther's assertion of the complete sovereignty of divine grace. With characteristic negative tendency, he goes no further than a mere criticism of Luther, without presenting any clear

[1] De Wette, 2 : 352 *sq.*

and definite statement on the other side. Although part of the book had been submitted to Henry VIII. and George of Saxony in 1523, it was not published until September, 1524.

Luther made no haste in replying. Up to the succeeding November, he had read only two pages, and his disgust was such that, except for the urgent intercession of others, he would have left it unanswered. In his reply of December, 1525, concerning *The Servitude of the Will*,[1] he emphasises the necessity of certainty of faith, and maintains that, from first to last, man's salvation is due solely to divine grace. By nature a bondsman of Satan, man can be delivered by no native power. The human will is like a horse, upon which either Satan or God sits, directing it whither he will. The tone of the book is most respectful towards his opponent, to whom he gives some most graceful compliments for valuable services rendered the truth in other directions. In its clear statements as to the freedom of the will in external things, and its denial of the irresistibility of the divine grace that converts man, as well as in its teaching that it is not by God's will that man sins and is lost, it is far removed from fatalistic error. But it cannot be denied that not all of its teachings are entirely consistent in this respect. In the endeavour to affirm, with the greatest emphasis, that when man is saved he owes everything to divine grace, statements are made that succeeding theologians have found it necessary to qualify. The overpowering influence of Augus-

[1] *Op. var. arg.*, vii., 113 *sqq.*

tine determined probably more than one passage, where in the haste of composition he reiterates the phrases of his master concerning matters that he has not as yet thoroughly solved in his own mind. In this treatise, Luther attempts to meet Erasmus on a philosophical rather than a theological basis.

JOHN FREDERICK OF SAXONY.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEASANTS' WAR

IN the midst of this controversy one of far wider interest was claiming attention. Between Carlstadt, Muenzer, and the Peasants' War there is a close connection. They stand for different stages of revolutionary fanaticism.

The influence of Carlstadt at Wittenberg had been thoroughly broken by Luther's return from the Wartburg. Sullenly he acquiesced in the order established, and continued his lectures in the University, with noticeable lack of interest in his work, though receiving from his colleagues every mark of consideration. Having depreciated the importance of theological science, he was in a false position as professor of theology. His pen was busy with the preparation of books of a mystical type, inculcating the necessity of the union of the soul with God, and depreciating the importance of the knowledge of the letter of Scripture. Renouncing the title of

" Doctor," he assumed that of " a new layman," bought a small farm near Wittenberg, where he was known by the peasants as " Neighbour Andrew," still, however, relying for support largely upon the irregular lectures he gave in the University. Uncomfortable in this division of occupations, he assumed, in September, 1523, a pastorate at Orlamuende, near Jena, the revenues of which belonged to his Wittenberg professorship, and which had been served heretofore by vicars. Here he had opportunity to carry out all his projects of reform. From the church the altar and pictures were removed, infant baptism was discontinued, and the communion was administered without confession. The same innovations were introduced into the neighbouring village of Kahla. In sympathy with Muenzer, and enforcing his statements by continual appeals to the Old Testament, he taught that all idolatry, like crimes against the government, should be punished by the sword. The Jewish Sabbath laws were asserted in all their rigour; polygamy was sanctioned; and for the Words of Institution of the Lord's Supper the ingenious explanation was found, that, when Christ uttered them, He pointed to His Body, as He extended the bread, and said: " This is My Body." The basis of his entire position was that of the permanence of the civil regulations and social ordinances of the Old Testament, which Jacob Strauss of Eisenach had applied in another direction, when he urged that the payment of interest on loans was a sin. At Jena, where he had won to his cause a pastor, Martin Reinhard, he

established a press for the publication of his writings, thus escaping the censorship at Wittenberg. All the while drawing the income of his professorship, the University at last asserted its rights, and he returned in June, 1524. Luther now hoped that he had been cured of his eccentricities, but was disappointed by his complete severance from Wittenberg, and his return to Orlamuende at the call of the council and congregation. His writings met with much popular favour; his favourite thoughts, and even the peculiar form in which he clothed them, were readily caught up and repeated.

Meanwhile Thomas Muenzer, pastor at Allstedt, was manifesting a revolutionary course so radical that even Carlstadt, notwithstanding his sympathy, could not openly approve of it. In July, 1524, before Duke John of Saxony and his son, John Frederick, he preached that the godless have no right to live, but should be exterminated, and charged the apostles with weakness, because of their tolerance of the idolatry of the heathen. All the elect, he taught, have a truly prophetic spirit and supernatural revelations. In June, 1524, a chapel at Malderbach, containing a renowned image of the Virgin and many costly memorials, was burned by a mob, which his harangues had excited to violence. Constant threats were made against the rulers, and prejudices against evangelical preachers diffused. A secret league for radical communistic purposes was formed, and extended far and wide by overzealous propagandists, with the pledge to put to death any ruler who opposed them. As long as they confined

their efforts to the proclamation of their theories, Luther declared that no other weapon than the preaching of the Word should be used against them; but where they meant violence, he advised the Elector and Duke John to promptly employ all the power of the government to suppress them. Summoned before Duke John, at Weimar, the evidence against Muenzer was overwhelming; but he was dismissed upon his promise to appear on the coming of the Elector. Before Frederick's arrival he had broken his promise and secretly departed. Compelled to leave Allstedt, he went to Muehlhausen in Thuringia, where he had been preceded by an adherent, the former Cistercian monk, Henry Pfeiffer. When the council of that place had received a very emphatic letter of advice from Luther, he was ordered to leave, and wandered for some weeks in Southwestern Germany and neighbouring Switzerland, exciting at all points the spirit of insurrection. In Nuremberg he won to his cause John Denck, the rector of St. Sebald's School, who soon became known as an opponent of the doctrines of the Trinity and of the divinity of Christ. While tarrying there, Muenzer wrote a scurrilous attack upon Luther. The events that followed his return to Muehlhausen, in December, 1524, will be recounted later.

The situation was deemed sufficiently alarming to demand Luther's intervention in the places of the greatest agitation. The council and congregation at Orlamuende offered the opportunity by their invitation, which was probably intended as a challenge.

On August 22d he preached at Jena against "the Allstedtian spirit and its fruits." Carlstadt was present, and, although not mentioned, he felt himself included in the attack. While Luther was at table at the "Black Bear," Carlstadt approached, and, with much excitement, stated his grievances. The result of the unpleasant interview, which took place in the presence of many of the guests, was that Luther urged Carlstadt to attack him publicly, and presented him with a gold florin as a token that he desired him to publish all that he had to say against him. Preaching the next day at Kahla, the fragments of a broken crucifix lying about the pulpit moved his indignation, although he refrained from expressing it. Arriving at Orlamuende, he declined to preach, but when the congregation had assembled, took up the letter which it had addressed him, and commented upon it, sentence by sentence, giving his reasons for his warnings against Carlstadt. In the midst of his remarks Carlstadt entered. Luther protested against his presence as that of a personal enemy, to whom he had given a florin for a written attack, and declared that he would himself leave, if Carlstadt would not retire. After his departure, a shoemaker, who had been an apt pupil of Carlstadt, argued with Luther that the Old Testament strictly prohibited the making of pictures and images, and not merely their worship. The interview was fruitless. Carlstadt eagerly sought for a public disputation with Luther, who saw that, for lack of any prospect of convincing him or those whom he had misled, argument was useless. Banished, like

Muenzer, he went to Southern Germany. He made Rothenburg on the Tauber, near Nuremberg, his chief abode, but also spent considerable time at Strassburg, Basel, and Heidelberg. His intensely practical tendency and his very extravagances made his writings popular, while the obstacles which Luther attempted to place in the way of the revolutionary movement alienated from the latter many who had hitherto regarded him as the embodiment of the German national and popular spirit. At Strassburg, Carlstadt avoided the evangelical preachers, Bucer and Capito, and conferred secretly with the laity wherever there was an opportunity for exciting suspicion against Luther; and, after leaving, industriously circulated his writings where he had prepared the field for the seeds of dissension. In response to an appeal from the Strassburg pastors, accompanied by a statement of their attitude to Carlstadt, and an outline of the Order of Service in the public worship,[1] Luther shows that the great error of Carlstadt lay in his regarding attention to mere external matters, such as the absence of images and pictures, as pertaining to the essentials of Christianity. Concerning the Lord's Supper, he assures them that if Carlstadt or any one else could have proved to him five years before that nothing but bread and wine were present, he would have been inexpressibly grateful, since this would have been a powerful argument against the Papacy; but so overwhelming is the testimony of Holy Scripture that he had been deterred from such a position. Another

[1] De Wette, 2: 574 *sqq.*

error of Carlstadt that he noted was that he preached Christ only as the model of a holy life, and nothing more. A comprehensive discussion of the entire controversy is found in his treatise, *Against the Heavenly Prophets.*[1] It ranks with the treatises on *The Babylonian Captivity* and *The Freedom of a Christian*, among the most important of Luther's writings. The second part is devoted to the refutation of Carlstadt's view of the Lord's Supper, in connection with which he presents his own doctrine in almost its complete form. Particularly noteworthy is his illustration concerning the word "this," in the Words of Institution, which he compares to those of a mother, who points to a cradle and says, "This is my child," without imagining that anyone could understand her to mean that the cradle had been converted into her child.

His generosity was shown in his readiness to intercede for Carlstadt and the endeavour to secure for him a safe-conduct to Wittenberg, when there were intimations that the latter, under the severe punishment of his banishment, had repented and desired a reconciliation. But when his intercessions were fruitless, two bitter attacks showed that Carlstadt had not actually changed. Once more, when at the close of the Peasants' War Carlstadt was in danger of being arrested and condemned as an accomplice, Luther interceded, and secured permission for his residence in the neighbourhood of Wittenberg. There, in February, 1526, Luther baptised a child of Carlstadt's in the latter's home, Jonas, Melanch-

[1] Erlangen, 29 : 134 *sqq.*

thon, and Luther's wife standing as sponsors! Luther writes: "Who would have thought of this last year!"[1] But Carlstadt could not rest, and after three years removed, to become, first, preacher in Zürich, and then professor at Basel, where he died in 1541.

Luther's prophecy of the bitter fruits that would be borne by the fanaticism of Muenzer was fulfilled when the atrocities of the Peasants' War, after some premonitory outbreaks, came upon the country in all their horror in 1525. The victims of crushing oppression, restless for generations under the yoke of serfdom, the peasants long before the Reformation had broken forth into occasional local revolts. The insurrection of 1491 in the Netherlands, Wuertemburg, and Alsace had left a permanent memorial in the extensively diffused alliance called, on account of the shoe adopted as its badge, the *Bundschuh*. With the imposition of new burdens the new life that was penetrating all classes of society, and the literature that was stimulating even the humblest, awakened their ambition, and made them peculiarly restive. The successful revolt against spiritual tyranny by the Reformers encouraged them with hopes of success for a similar movement in the temporal sphere. For the misinterpretation of his teachings and their misapplication against his uniform protests, Luther was not responsible. The liberty that Luther taught demanded the complete subjection of man's will and heart to God's word and God's appointed order. From Muehlhausen, Muenzer and Pfeiffer scattered in-

[1] De Wette, 3 : 94.

cendiary publications traducing Luther, as well as undermining the civil authorities, and sowing everywhere the seed of revolt. The movement was wide-spread. It was particularly strong where the most vigorous efforts had been made to suppress the evangelical teaching. The peasants of Southwestern Germany embodied their demands in "Twelve Articles."[1] Moderate in tone and abounding in Scriptural phrases, these articles seemingly placed spiritual interests in the foreground, although this is found to be only the introduction to purely secular matters. The first of the articles asks that every Christian congregation have the right to elect and remove its own pastor, and that the tithes, heretofore appropriated by the government, be devoted to the support of the ministry and the assistance of the needy. In the other articles, the abolition of serfdom, freedom to hunt and fish, the right to cut wood in the forests, the alleviation of the exactions of masters from servants and of landlords from tenants, are demanded. Other voices were not so moderate, but clamoured for revolution. No houses but such as were good enough for peasants should be tolerated. The existing rulers should abdicate, and give place to those to be chosen by the people or their representatives. The monks and the nobles were especial objects of hostility. Plunder and pillage became constantly more common. In Franconia alone, two hundred cloisters and castles were de-

[1] Erlangen, 24: 257 *sqq.*; English translation in *Translations and Reprints published by the Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. ii., No. 6, Philadelphia, 1895.

molished, and murders were of frequent occurrence. At the storming of Weinsberg, near Stuttgart, acts of extreme oppression had infuriated the peasants, so that all the nobility captured were slain, and the leader, the Count of Helfenstein, was put to death in a peculiarly atrocious manner before the eyes of his wife, a daughter of the Emperor Maximilian. The Elector Palatinate appealed to Melanchthon for a decision concerning the "Twelve Articles," and received an answer justifying in all things the rulers and condemning the peasants. In answer to an appeal from the peasants, Luther, in *An Admonition to Peace*,[1] passed a more discriminating judgment, sharply arraigning the nobility for their oppression, and pleading for a mitigation of the burdens under which the peasants were suffering, but also condemning the peasants in no mild terms for taking the law into their own hands. In very brief terms he answers the demands of the "Twelve Articles." The right of a congregation to elect its own pastor he regards as absolute, when it provides entirely for his support, but when the support comes in whole or in part from other sources, he declares it dishonest for a congregation to make such claim. Since the tithes also belong to the rulers, the proposal to devote them to church purposes he pronounces as another suggestion of robbery. Serfdom he does not consider inconsistent with Christianity. All other matters contained in the articles he leaves to the jurists. For the adjustment of the difficulties, he proposes a plan of arbitration.

[1] Erlangen, 24 : 257 *sqq.*

In the moment when the peril was most imminent, Luther hastened to Eisleben, and, passing through districts filled with insurgents, sought by every means in his power to persuade them to peace. His words were unheeded. It seemed to him that the more he admonished, the more violent they became. Nothing was to be done, he was convinced, but for the rulers to enforce the law against them. In a paper on *The Peasant Robbers and Murderers*,[1] he declared that the rebellious peasants deserved death, both in body and soul; not only because of their perjury in breaking their oaths of allegiance, and of their acts of violence, but also because they made the Gospel an excuse for their crimes. He calls upon all to flee from them, as from the very devil, and calls upon the rulers to put away all scruples about inflicting the death penalty upon the obstinate.

The offers of arbitration proposed by the intervention of the Count of Mansfeld having been rejected by the peasants, who were influenced by the advice of Muenzer, the Landgrave of Hesse and Dukes George and John of Saxony completely overcame them in the bloody battle of Frankenhausen, where five thousand perished on the field, May 15, 1525. Muenzer and Pfeiffer were taken prisoners and executed on the spot. While Duke John and the Landgrave Philip treated their prisoners with leniency, terrible was the vengeance inflicted by others. Similar calamities befell the peasant cause in other parts of Germany. At the castle of Zobern in

[1] Erlangen, 24 : 287 *sqq.*

Alsace, eighteen thousand of them fell. Over one hundred thousand are believed to have perished. The desolation in some portions of the country was indescribable. So completely were they crushed, and so much more miserable was their condition than it had previously been, that much sympathy was awakened, especially in the cities, and Luther was severely criticised for his bitter denunciations and the influence he had exerted against them. The charge was made that he had stimulated them to rebellion, and then forsaken them in their extremity. He met his critics in an open letter to the Chancellor of Mansfeld,[1] in which he repeats and justifies what he had written in the book published several months before. For the time his name was as thoroughly abhorred among the peasants, as it had been once hailed with acclamations of joy, but his course with respect to their revolt was entirely consistent with that which he had a short time before pursued in reference to the uprising of the nobles.

[1] Erlangen, 24: 294 *sqq.*

LUTHER AND CATHERINE, 1538.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE

LUTHER chose a strange time for his marriage. Never was prospect more discouraging. Both nobility and peasantry had been alienated. His power of moving the masses that had once been most effective had failed. Authority had triumphed, but it had been at a fearful sacrifice. The Elector had just died. Nevertheless throughout these grave events his thoughts had been for some weeks upon taking a wife. Even in his mission to the Thuringian peasants, with all the horrors of a war before him, the issues of which he foresaw must be most distressing, he was meditating this step. His friends scarcely believed him. But, as usual, when the decision was once made, it was quickly executed. The announcement that on June 13, 1525, he had married Catherine von Bora, amazed both friend and foe. For years most firmly maintaining the sanctity of marriage and denying the obligation of vows made to abstain from what God has not forbidden, he

had encouraged a number of his associates to marry who had formerly been priests or monks. Among them were Bugenhagen, Regius, and Link, as well as Zell, Bucer, and Carlstadt. The earnest wish and continual importunity of his father were as strong motives as any in determining his decision. The bride was at hand in one of the nine nuns who had escaped at Easter, 1523, from the convent at Nimtschen, and who, until otherwise provided for, were dependent upon him for support. The Bora family was of Wendish origin.[1] Its name is equivalent to the German *Tanne* (fir-tree), and is perpetuated in the Bavarian family, "von der Tann." Catherine was the daughter of Hans von Bora and Anna von Haugwitz. Their home had been originally at Hirschfeld. She was twenty-six years of age, and had spent ten years in the cloister. A passing impression had been made upon a Wittenberg student of a noble Nuremberg family, whose devotion cooled when his student days were over, much to Luther's disappointment, as he was most favourable to the proposed match. Through Amsdorf, Luther next sought to secure her promise to marry Carlstadt's successor at Orlamuende. But the maiden was more ambitious. Her answer was that instead of the man they wanted her to marry she was ready to take either Amsdorf or Dr. Luther himself.

Luther's mature age and his absorption in his numerous responsibilities prevented him from being

[1] Details of genealogy to the thirteenth century in Seidemann's Appendix to De Wette, 6 : 647 *sq.*, where also several touching letters of Catherine, written shortly after her husband's death, are found.

CATHERINE VON BORA.

FROM A PAINTING BY CRANACH IN NUREMBERG.

influenced by any strong attachment. Although reacting against the estimate of marriage formed in his earlier years, it was impossible for him to entirely escape the influences exerted by monastic conceptions and exercises during that period of his life when, if ever, men are romantic. A general liking for the maiden, and sympathy with her in her destitute and dependent condition, which was out of keeping with her noble origin, were undoubtedly present. But until he knew her better, her aristocratic bearing had repelled him. Her excellent administrative abilities and her devotion as a wife and mother are attested throughout the subsequent twenty-one years of her married life. On the evening of the day mentioned, Luther invited to his home a very select circle, the two chief pastors of Wittenberg, Bugenhagen and Jonas, the jurist Dr. Apel, who had married a former nun, and the painter Lucas Cranach and wife, who brought with them the bride. The absence of Melanchthon and Schurf indicate that Luther anticipated their dissatisfaction with his course. The next morning there was a wedding breakfast, but the formal celebration of the event was deferred until the 27th, in order to give time for the invitation of friends at a distance. At the banquet, Luther's aged parents and Leonard von Koppe, who had assisted Catherine in her escape from the convent, together with the other nuns who had been her associates in the flight, were present.

The marriage, as might be expected, made a great sensation. Jonas wrote the next day that, while a

witness, he could scarcely restrain his tears. Melanchthon, in order to be as confidential as possible, wrote a long letter in Greek, expressing his astonishment that, at so grave a crisis, a step sure to give occasion for attack on the part of Luther's enemies should have been taken. Schurf had prophesied that, in case the marriage would occur, all the world and the devils would laugh, and Luther's work would come to naught. Not so thought Luther, who predicted that all angels would laugh, while all devils would weep and rage. There were not a few, however, who were ready to rejoice with him. Substantial gifts from the magistrates, the University, and many friends, showed how warm a place he still had in their hearts.

The Augustinian cloister, whence all the monks had departed, had reverted to the Elector, who had made it Luther's home. Here he had lived for a long time with the last of the brotherhood, Brisger, remaining in a house whence the rigorous discipline of former days had departed, but had not given place to the care of an efficient housekeeper. For one whole year or more, no one had made Luther's bed. It was no light undertaking which the bride assumed, with straitened means, to furnish the large establishment, and maintain it on an income of but one or two hundred florins a year. She bravely entered upon her calling as the wife of one widely hated, and knowing well how opposed to the marriage many of his best friends had been. But she was encouraged by a present to her husband from the Elector of a hundred florins for beginning house-

keeping, and, strange to say, a personal gift to herself of twenty florins from so frequent a subject for her husband's attacks as the Archbishop of Mayence.

The characteristic candour of Luther, who in his correspondence always spoke most freely to his friends, the public position which he occupied, bringing many from various quarters into the inner circle of his family, and especially the students who gathered around his board and noted his many sayings in his hours of leisure, have made the details of his home life well known. Upon his public life the influence of his marriage cannot be traced. But it gave him rest and refreshment, and by its trials disciplined him in his inner life for far greater efficiency than any monastic rule he had ever followed. However the marriage may be criticised, it should not be forgotten that Luther had rights as a private man which posterity as well as his cotemporaries must respect.

FRIDERICVS MYCONIVS
ÆTAT 48.
IN CORDE MEO ET CONFITEBOR TIBI DOMINE
IN PATIENTIA VESTRA POSSIDEBITIS ANIMAS VESTRAS
ET SERVABO VERBA

DR. FREDERICK MYCONIUS.

CHAPTER VI

VISITATION OF CHURCHES AND THE CATECHISMS

FLUSHED with his victory over the peasants, Duke George determined to push his advantage to the utmost. Where the opportunity was present, the pretext of complicity in the rebellion was employed to punish innocent adherents of the evangelical faith. Measures were taken for the complete eradication of Lutheranism. It was useless, it was urged, to be forever cutting away the shoots, while the root was untouched. Repeated efforts were made to persuade his cousin, the new Elector, and the Landgrave, his son-in-law, to turn against Luther, and make common cause against all innovations. A league was formed at Dessau, in July, 1524, to crush out "the Lutheran sect," followed by a most positive declaration of the evangelical princes against the proposal. Towards the close of the year, the Archbishop of Mayence assembled his clergy to take measures for checking the spread

of the evangelical cause, and for appealing to the Pope. A commission of rulers, with George at its head, was suggested, as the best plan for the thorough extermination of Lutheranism. Luther, in order to give the widest publicity to "what Satan wants to do through the bishops and Duke George," undertook to have the published scheme reprinted, with his own introduction, and supplementary remarks[1]; but before the printing was completed, it was suppressed by the Elector.

Christian II. of Denmark having assured him that there had been a change of mind in Henry VIII., Luther addressed the English king a most humble letter of apology for his former attack, upon the assumption that Henry's book had been written by another hand.[2] A similar letter was written to Duke George. But in both cases the letters irritated instead of conciliating the persons to whom they were addressed. War with France had prevented the Emperor from any aggressive act. But with the victory of Pavia, the King of France became his prisoner, and by the peace of Madrid, January 14, 1526, they bound each other to common war against the Turk, and "the heretics who have severed their connection with the Pope." The answer of the evangelical party was the formation of the Torgau Alliance in the succeeding May. Then on June 25th came the First Diet of Spires. The lines were now sharply drawn. Danger to the evangelical cause was averted by a new and strange ally. The Pope intervened by absolving the King of France

[1] Erlangen, 65 : 22.

[2] De Wette, 3 : 24 *sqq.*

from the obligations he had assumed in the peace of Madrid. Francis then formed "The Holy League" against the Emperor, by an alliance with the Italian cities, which was approved by Henry VIII. The execution of the Edict of Worms was now out of the question. The Emperor's policy was to conciliate the evangelicals. The Recess of the Diet deferred the settlement of the questions in dispute until a future council, either national or general. The arms of the Emperor were turned against the Pope. Rome was captured and sacked. The Pope, first a fugitive, was for six months a prisoner. "Christ so rules," wrote Luther, "that, while the Emperor is persecuting Luther for Christ's sake, the Emperor is forced to despoil the Pope for Luther's sake."

Meanwhile the time had come for a vigorous prosecution of the work of reorganising the churches of Saxony. The Peasants' War showed the necessity of reaching the people more directly with conservative and evangelical church influences. The change in rulers was, in this respect, opportune. Frederick's tolerance and protection were succeeded by John's open sympathy and readiness for aggressive participation. Four days before Frederick's death, Spalatin had urged upon him and John the necessity for prompt measures. After this, Spalatin, although no longer private secretary to the Elector, but pastor at Altenburg, continued to be a confidential adviser, and was sent to Wittenberg, to confer with Luther concerning better provisions for the University, which had not recovered from the

depletion of students largely due to Carlstadt's radicalism. Everywhere there was confusion in the order of public worship and in all church regulations. Great difficulty had been experienced in translating the Latin chants into German, and adapting the music. For three weeks Luther laboured industriously at the service, with the aid of two musicians, Conrad Rupf and John Walter. The music for the Gospels, Epistles, Words of Institution, and the German *Sanctus* was composed by Luther, much to the astonishment of his associate, Walter, whom he assured that he found the notes in the text of the words to be sung. As there were many calls for a similar service for other churches, the famous *German Mass* of 1526 was the result.[1]

The visitation of the churches was most important in its influence. The necessity for such visitation Haussmann had urged. But the difficulties involved occasioned protracted delay. Meanwhile the Landgrave had a Church Constitution drawn up by Francis Lambert, which was adopted for Hesse at a synod at Homberg in 1526. Luther could not but recognise in it an application of his principles of church government, but criticised it because it was adapted only to ideal conditions, and made no provision for the administration of the means of grace to the great mass of the people. A year had passed when Luther prepared and sent to the Elector a general plan for church visitation. It provided for a commission of four visitors, two for the spiritual

[1] Erlangen, 22 : 226 *sqq.*; Richter's *Kirchenordnungen*, i., 35 *sqq.*; Weimar, xix., 44 *sqq.*, gives the music, as well as the text.

and two for the temporal interests of each congregation. Late in 1526, and at the beginning of 1527, the plan was tried in several districts of Saxony, with results which showed the importance of the work. In these visitations, Melanchthon and Spalatin were most active, and from the experience thus gained, Melanchthon prepared *Visitation Articles*,[1] for the use of future official visitors. The Latin outline appeared prematurely and without authority in 1527. It became the occasion of a violent attack from his colleague, Agricola, who objected to the emphasis he had placed upon the preaching of the Law. This was allayed by Luther's interference on Melanchthon's side, but the controversy broke out with increased bitterness in after years. The *Order of Visitation*,[2] published the next year, was thoroughly revised by Luther, who wrote the introduction. The dominion of the Elector was divided into six districts, and four visitors assigned to each. Electoral Saxony, the district nearest Wittenberg, fell to Luther. The exceptional advantages of close contact with the influences emanating from the University naturally resulted in a better showing here than in the other districts. Nevertheless, as he testifies in the introduction to the Small Catechism, the ignorance not only of the people, but also of the clergy, was such as to amaze him. Pastors having more than one congregation were found, who used the Roman Mass in one church and the revised evangelical service in another. One pastor managed only with great difficulty to repeat

[1] *C. R.*, 26 : 1 *sqq.* [2] *Ib.*, 29 *sqq.*

the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. The best that could be done in many cases was to forbid the pastors from preaching sermons of their own composition, and direct them to use Luther's Postils. In one village the people objected to learning the Lord's Prayer, because they thought it was too long! Drunkenness and other immoralities among the clergy were not rare; while pursuits most remote from the clerical office were followed with impunity. There was a lamentable dearth of schools in the country districts. Everywhere, however, the influence of the Pope was gone, and there was no need of further attacks upon abuses, but only of building up the people in the Christian life. These visitations continued until 1530, and were resumed in 1532. The University suffering from the absence on these trips of both Luther and Melanchthon, and the students leaving in large numbers, Luther was relieved of visitation duties, except in special cases, in March, 1529.

The most important of all the fruits of the visitation was the preparation of the two catechisms. For years the idea of an elementary text-book, adapted to the plainest people, had been in his mind. The suggestion is traced by some to a question-book of the Bohemian Brethren. In his *German Mass* of 1526, Luther had said: "The first thing needed for the German public worship, is a blunt, plain, simple, good catechism." It should consist, he says, of explanations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, in the form of questions and answers. As a speci-

men, he treats several petitions of the Lord's Prayer. The preceding year the attempt had been made by Agricola and Jonas to prepare such a catechism, and had failed. The visitation forced him to undertake the long-deferred work. Materials were at hand in homilies and expositions of the several parts of the Catechism, published by him between 1516 and 1520. Cyprian and Augustine were freely used. The *Visitation Articles* and the *Loci* of Melanchthon supplied invaluable suggestions. In January, 1529, he writes that he is "composing a catechism for rough peasants." The *Small Catechism* is intended to provide the head of every family with a text-book that every child and servant must learn by heart. The questions are asked by the child, the answers made by the parent. Adherence to an unvarying form of words is insisted upon, and failure to learn it is not only to prevent from admission to the Lord's Supper, but should be punished by parents and employers with the denial of food and drink.

Next to his translation of the Bible, the preparation of the *Small Catechism* was Luther's most important literary work. Thirty-seven years after its appearance, Matthesius estimates the number of copies published at 100,000, which is certainly a moderate estimate, when in the United States there cannot be less than that number now in use every year in the seven languages of the Lutheran Church of America. By the simplicity of its treatment, it illustrates Luther's remark: "If we would instruct children, we must ourselves become children."

LUCAS CRANACH.

FROM HIS OWN PAINTING.

The exposition of the second article of the Creed is particularly notable in the original not only for its inimitable literary form, but for the depth of the thought and the fervour of its language.

"I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord ; who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, secured and delivered me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with silver and gold, but with His holy and precious blood, and with His innocent sufferings and death ; in order that I might be His, live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness ; even as He has risen from the dead, and lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true."

During these years his private life abounded in trials. Happy as a husband and father, his son John ("Hans") having been born June 7, 1526, rejoicing in the culture of flowers in the garden, where many of his hours of recreation were spent, he experienced the first attacks of the disease from which, in subsequent years, he endured most frequent and acute suffering. In January, 1527, an attack of heart trouble was nearly fatal, and six months later he thought his end at hand from prostration with agonising pains in his head. He had not entirely recovered when the plague broke out at Wittenberg. The University moved in July to Jena, where it remained until the succeeding January. Luther felt it to be a higher duty to remain

by the side of Bugenhagen, who as pastor had to brave the plague, than to comply with the Elector's urgent request that he follow his other colleagues. In a paper on *Whether a Christian should Flee when Death Threatens*,[1] he shows the principles that prompted and sustained him in this crisis. Pastors, rulers, and servants needed by their employers, he holds, must remain. Neither is any one whose services are needed by his neighbours, at liberty to desert them. But where such need does not exist, it is not right to tempt God; only we are to remember that we are everywhere in God's hands, and that immunity from danger is not secured by flight. Jonas lost a child; the wife of the burgomaster died almost in Luther's arms; the wife of the chaplain, Roerer, died in Bugenhagen's house and his family found refuge in Luther's home; the plague at last entered, and that house too became a hospital. But his faith triumphed; a few students, to whom he continued lecturing, shared the danger, and by the close of the year the peril was over. On December 10th his daughter Elizabeth was born, soon by her premature departure, in the succeeding August 5th, to wring from him the lament: "She has left me a wonderfully sick, and almost a womanly heart. I am so distressed for her. Never have I thought that a father's heart would be so tender for his children."[2]

To the roll of martyrs of the evangelical faith there was added about this time Leonard Kaiser (or Kaeser), a Bavarian pastor, formerly a student at

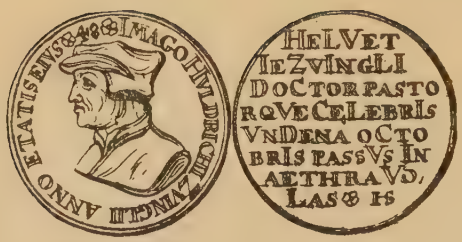
[1] Erlangen, 22: 317 *sqq.*

[2] De Wette, 3: 364 *sq.*

Wittenberg, who was arrested in the territory of the Bishop of Passau, whither he had gone to the death-bed of his father. When Luther heard of his arrest, he wrote him a letter of consolation,[1] and interested the Elector on his behalf, but in vain. He was burned at Schaerding, August 16, 1527. Luther published an account of the martyrdom, terming him a true Kaiser (Emperor), who, by his death, had conquered the mightiest power on earth.[2]

Before the burning of Kaiser, he felt deeply the assassination of George Winkler, preacher at Halle, upon his return from an appearance at the episcopal court of the Archbishop of Mayence, where he answered the charge of having administered the communion in both forms. Many regarded the Archbishop an accomplice in the crime. In his *Consolation to Christians at Halle upon the Death of their Preacher*,[3] Luther attacks the Recess of Mayence, with its sanguinary threats, as justifying and instigating such crimes. Acts scarcely less atrocious were heard of from many quarters, and created ceaseless anxiety.

[1] De Wette, 3 : 179.
[2] Walch, xxi., 173 *sqq.*
[3] Erlangen, 22 : 294 *sqq.*



ULRIC ZWINGLI.

A MEMORIAL OF HIS DEATH.

CHAPTER VII

ZWINGLI AND THE MARBURG COLLOQUY

IN the controversy which broke out in 1525, separating into two camps those who had heretofore seemed to be making common cause against the Papacy, came another trial. The difference concerning the Holy Supper, that came into prominence, was only the expression of a different mode of viewing all the articles of faith. Ulric Zwingli, the Swiss Reformer, seven weeks Luther's junior, and, like him, a peasant's son, knew nothing of the inner conflicts through which Luther was forced, step by step, to his break with the Papacy. By taste and training a humanist, in feeling a patriot, and in practice a politician and statesman, he had the courage which most of the humanists had not, to embody his convictions of the corruptions of Rome into plans of radical reform that he did not shrink from executing. Without Luther's conviction of the pre-eminence of his calling as an expounder and preacher of the simple Word, regardless of results, Zwingli concen-

trated all his energies upon constructive schemes for the reorganisation of society. The statue at Worms represents Luther armed only with the Bible; that at Zürich is equally appropriate in presenting Zwingli with one hand grasping the sword, and the other the Bible. Luther's theology was grounded upon a profound conviction of the total corruption of human nature, and the responsibility of every member of the human race for the depravity in which he is born. Zwingli denied the Church's doctrine of original sin, except as it might be regarded as designating in a figurative sense what is man's misfortune rather than his guilt. The doctrine of absolute predestination, which Luther held at this time in common with Zwingli, without carrying it to consequences for which the Scriptures gave no warrant, and without making it the centre of his system, Zwingli pressed to the extreme of denying that there are actual means of grace, since grace is efficacious only by the immediate impulses of the Holy Spirit. In this depreciation of the external Word, Luther thought that he could trace the same spirit as that against which he had contended in his conflicts with the Anabaptists, and afterwards with Muenzer and Carlstadt. Luther's conception of the sacraments was that they are pledges of God's will towards us; Zwingli contended that they are pledges of our will towards God and our fellow-Christians. In Luther's system they are divine; in Zwingli's, only human acts. Baptism Luther looked upon as God's covenant assuring and applying God's grace; while Zwingli esteemed it simply as a pro-

mise of the one baptised that he will lead a Christian life, and a testimony of the Church that he is entitled to its privileges. To Luther the sacraments were particularly precious, since he found in them the application to every individual of the special assurance of divine grace, which, in the hearing and reading of the Word, is given only in a general form; according to Zwingli's view, this individual application is made only by the inner testimony of the Spirit, without any external pledge. Luther regarded the Words of Institution unsusceptible of any but a literal interpretation, and held that they clearly teach the true presence of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine, at the moment of the reception of the elements, as a pledge of everything comprehended in the words: "Given and shed for you." Zwingli, on the other hand, resorted to the figurative interpretation: "This represents," in order to overthrow most effectively the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, and with it the sacrifice of the Mass. The divergence between the two leaders on the doctrine of the sacraments is only a result of their difference on the doctrine of the Word.

Luther favoured the retention of everything in the practice and usages of the Church not contrary to Holy Scripture. Zwingli proceeded upon the theory that, without express Scriptural command, nothing should be retained. The service was reduced to extreme simplicity; pictures and statues were removed from the churches, upon the assumption that their presence was contrary to the Ten Com-

mandments; organs were banished, and sacred music disparaged as interfering with spirituality.

Luther's nature was fiery and impetuous; his speech was frank, open, and straightforward. If he were angry, he uttered all his wrath; if convinced that he had erred, he cared nothing about a reputation for consistency, but frankly acknowledged the error. Everything was spontaneous. He lived, with all his intensity, in the moment in which he spoke. Nothing was done by indirection or diplomacy. Zwingli was as cool and self-possessed as Luther was passionate. He knew how to hold his indignation in check, to suppress his words, and to conceal his feelings. A skilful logician, and an adroit man of affairs, he sought a definite end by carefully planned methods, and was rarely betrayed into inconsistencies. Luther won his battles by sudden and unexpected charges that broke upon his enemies with the force of a tornado. Zwingli's strength lay in strategy.

Zwingli's doctrine of the Lord's Supper coincides with suggestions previously made by Erasmus. All connection with Carlstadt he indignantly repudiated. Professing to have held his explanation for a number of years as a private opinion, he refrained from publishing until it could first be submitted to learned judges. But when Carlstadt's view, with its exaggerations, was diffused, he undertook to present his own, first in a private letter to Alberus of Reutlingen, which was sent also to the Strassburgers a month later, when both his opinion and that of Luther were asked, and then, in the succeeding

year, in his *Commentary on True and False Religion.* The coming conflict was seen, when Luther's formal opinion reached the Strassburgers about the same time, although Luther did not deem Zwingli's opinion worthy of immediate answer, and Bugenhagen was the first to make an attack. In September, 1525, Œcolampadius, who held a similar opinion, although he found the figure in the word "body," sought to gain adherents by a letter addressed the Wuertemburg clergy, which was answered in the *Syngramma*, composed by John Brenz. In Silesia, Kaspar Schwenckfeldt, a nobleman, hitherto one of Luther's most zealous friends, sought to spiritualise the Words of Institution, and was supported by the theologian, Krautwaldt. They were answered by Hess, while the Baden preacher, Jacob Strauss, attacked Zwingli. At Strassburg, Capito and Bucer were won to Zwingli's side, but hoped, by mediation, to avoid an open rupture with Luther. Gerbelius, a Strassburg jurist, kept Luther informed concerning what was transpiring there, and represented that the pastors were secret adherents of Carlstadt. Luther's distrust was increased when Bucer, who translated the writings of the Wittenberg theologians, published an edition of Luther's Postils and one of Bugenhagen's exposition of the Psalms, in which he modified the teaching concerning the Lord's Supper, so as to make it harmonise with that of Zwingli.[1] Party spirit ran high. The Council of Nuremberg sent a protest to that of

[1] See the charge made by Luther against Bucer in "*That these words: 'This is My Body,' abide*" (1527). Erlangen, 30: 147 *sqq.*

Strassburg concerning the doctrine encouraged in the latter city.

The political crisis in Germany in 1525 advising a union of all the opponents of the Papacy, George Cassel was sent to Wittenberg to confer with Luther; but their meeting was without result. As long as Zwingli addressed only his friends and wrote only in the Latin language, Luther remained silent, but when, in 1526, Zwingli sought to popularise his doctrine in a German treatise, *A Clear Explanation of the Lord's Supper*, Luther replied in an introduction to the *Syngramma*, followed by *A Sermon*. It was during the years 1527 and 1528 that the chief burden of this controversy fell upon him. The severity of his language against his opponents can be understood only when it is remembered how heavy was the responsibility upon him for the correct representation of the movement which he had started. In his *Large Confession concerning the Lord's Supper*,[1] he treats of the errors of his opponents, then enters into a critical examination of the passages of Scripture involved, and concludes with a comprehensive confession of his faith.

"Since I see," he says, "that sects and errors are continually increasing, in order that, hereafter, during my life or after my death, no one may appeal to or falsely quote my writings to strengthen his error, as the Sacramentarians and Anabaptists are doing, I will, herewith, confess my faith, article by article, before all the world. By this expression I purpose to abide until

[1] Erlangen, 30 : 151 *sqq*.

death, and by God's help, to depart from this world and to stand before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ. If any one after my death will say: 'If Luther were still living he would teach and hold differently concerning this article, for he had not sufficiently examined it,' etc., I say in reply, for the present as well as for the future, that I have tested all these articles most carefully by the Holy Scriptures, and am now ready to defend them as vigorously as I have defended that of the Sacrament of the Altar. I am not drunk, neither do I speak rashly, but know what I am saying, and am well aware of the account I must render the Lord Jesus at the Day of Judgment. Let no one, therefore, regard this a matter of jest or trifling; for I am in earnest." [1]

New dangers were threatening the evangelical cause, rendering the division among its adherents most inopportune. Peace had been made between Pope and Emperor, and the time had come when it seemed to the evangelical princes that they could no longer remain undisturbed by attempts to coerce them. In their alertness to be informed as to the first approaches of danger, the Elector and Landgrave were imposed upon by the forgeries of Otto von Pack, a former counsellor of Duke George, in which a counterfeit agreement of Ferdinand and George with the Electors of Brandenburg and Mayence, and the Bishops of Salzburg, Wuerzburg, and Bamberg, was produced. Lutheranism was to be extirpated; the Elector and Landgrave were to be deprived of their dominions, and the confederates were to divide the territory. Without a suspicion

[1] Erlangen, 30: 363 *sqq.*

SPES MEA IN DEO EST
IOHANNES FRIDERICVS DEI BENEFICIO SAXONIÆ DVX
SACRI ROMANI IMPERII ARCHIMARSCHALCHVS ET
ELECTOR LANDGRAVIVS THVRINGIÆ MARCHIO MISNIÆ
ET BVRGGRAVIVS MAGDEBVRGI ETC
VERBVM DOMINI MANET IN ÆTERNVM

THE ELECTOR JOHN FREDERICK OF SAXONY.

AFTER THE COPPER ENGRAVING BY G. PENCZ, 1543.

as to its genuineness, the Protestant princes prepared for war. The Landgrave was for moving at once upon the confederates. The Elector summoned Luther to Torgau for consultation. Although also deceived as to the genuineness of the document, he used all his influence to dissuade from any aggressive movement. There was no proof that the Emperor approved the conspiracy, and therefore, he argued, it would be a crime to break the peace. The only course was to wait patiently for the ripening of the plot. If the Landgrave still insisted on making war, then the Elector, he declared, should not co-operate, as it would be contrary to God's will. The wisdom of Luther's advice was seen, when the Landgrave's demand for an explanation exposed the fraud. Luther had saved Germany from a religious war.

As the dark cloud of Turkish invasion was casting its shadows upon the boundaries of Hungary, and threatening Germany, he deemed it his duty to raise the cry of alarm and explain the position he had taken, years before, in antagonism to the Pope's call to arms.[1] The Christian, as a Christian, must use only the sword of the Spirit; but, as an obedient subject of the Emperor, he must use also the temporal sword to repel robbers and murderers, such as the Turks are. This treatise, scattered throughout the country in large editions, was followed by *A Summons to Battle*,[2] when the Turks had advanced so far as to besiege Vienna.

At the Second Diet of Spires, which assembled

[1] Erlangen, 31 : 31 *sqq.*

[2] *Ib.*, 80 *sqq.*

March 15, 1529, the opponents of the evangelical cause were in the large majority. All concessions of the Diet of 1526 were revoked; the execution of the Edict of Worms was enforced in all countries where it had been observed; and all innovations in other places prohibited. The celebration of the Mass according to the old order was everywhere protected, and the revenues of the clergy assured. The Zwinglians and Anabaptists were to be extirpated wherever found. The protests entered against this by the five evangelical princes and the representatives of fourteen cities, April 19th, gave them the name of "Protestants." Directed not so much against ecclesiastical and worldly rulers as against the despotism of mere majorities, this *Instrumentum Magnum*,[1] as it is sometimes called, is the *Magna Charta* of modern civil and religious liberty. With a wide outlook the signers of this document appeal not only for themselves and their subjects, but also for "all who either now or in the future, will adhere to the holy Word of God," declare that membership in the one spiritual Body of Christ requires each one to provide for the spiritual interests of his brethren, and assert the right of private judgment in words worthy of everlasting memory, viz., that "IN MATTERS PERTAINING TO GOD'S HONOUR[2]

[1] In full in Walch, xvi., 364 *sqq.*; Müller's *Historie von der Ev. Stände Protestation und Appelation* (Jena, 1705), 51 *sqq.* Summaries in Latin, Seckendorf, ii., 130; in German, Gieseler's *Church History*, notes to vol. iv., 131 (Am. ed.).

[2] "In den Sachen, Gottes Ehre und unserer Seelen Heil und Seligkeit belangend, ein jeglicher für sich selbst vor Gott stehen, und Rechenschaft geben muss."

KASPAR CRUCIGER.

FROM A WOOD-CUT BY TOBIAS STIMMER.

AND OUR SOULS' SALVATION, EVERY ONE MUST STAND AND GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF BEFORE GOD."

So critical was the situation that the Protestants immediately entered into an armed alliance for mutual defence. It being important that the alliance should be extended as far as possible, the Landgrave was intent upon securing the co-operation of the Swiss, while the Swiss, in turn, desired that Venice and France should be included. But as the only object of the Elector was to secure mutual defence in the right to have the same Gospel, there had to be agreement as to what was meant by "the Gospel." Unjust as was the decree of Spires against Zwinglianism, those who regarded Zwinglianism as a departure from truth could not be expected to go to war for its maintenance. The contest in progress was not one in which all wrongs were to be righted, but one in which they felt themselves justified in resistance only where the Emperor attacked that which they were convinced was of God. A conference of theologians, for the purpose of settling, if possible, the points of dispute, was the result. It was due to the tireless efforts of the Landgrave, and was held October 1–3, 1529, in his castle at Marburg, where he royally entertained all the participants. Luther was accompanied by Melanchthon, Jonas, and Cruciger of Wittenberg, Myconius of Gotha, Brenz of Hall, Osiander of Nuremberg, and Stephen Agricola of Augsburg; Zwingli, by Œcolampadius of Basel, and the two Strassburgers, Bucer and Hedio. After a

day of private conferences, in which Luther was closeted with Œcolampadius, and Melanchthon with Zwingli, and exchanged views concerning the other articles, a public discussion on the Lord's Supper was held, beginning at 6 A.M., Saturday, October 2d. With the Landgrave, who took the deepest interest in all the proceedings, were the exiled Duke Ulrich of Wuertemberg and a select number of guests. The four contestants sat around a table; Luther and Melanchthon on the one side, and Zwingli and Œcolampadius on the other. Except for a few incidental remarks of Melanchthon and Brenz, Luther was the sole speaker on his side, while his two opponents alternated in their replies. The arguments were not new; they had been already presented in the controversial writings that had appeared. Luther laid all the stress upon the words, "This is My Body," which he had written in chalk upon the table; while Zwingli insisted that in the sixth chapter of John is found the key to the doctrine. Neither expected that he would make a convert of the other, but contended with a view to the effect to be produced upon the audience. Luther spoke at times with characteristic severity, but with more than usual self-control and courtesy. The controversy being clearly irreconcilable, the Landgrave asked that other grounds of union be sought, which Luther declared to be impossible. The rejection of Zwingli's hand, offered with tears, the repudiation of the term "brethren," and the words: "You have another spirit," so often dramatically described as discreditable to Luther, should

always be understood as meaning nothing more than a declaration of the absolute impossibility of making common cause with Zwingli, in a political alliance, upon such terms. To have accepted Zwingli's hand under such circumstances would have meant readiness to defend unto death his explanation of the Lord's Supper. It was not a question of respecting the convictions of his opponent, but of arraying the entire evangelical party in its support against the Emperor. Nor, in view of the other political alliances that Zwingli was then projecting, could any one divine to what extent such responsibility would be carried. That there was no personal rancour present may be learned from Luther's statement a few days later: "We gave them, nevertheless, the right hand of peace and love, and promised, meanwhile, to abstain from bitter words and writings, so that, while each may teach his own opinion, he may do so without invective, but not without the right of defence and refutation." [1] They all mingled cordially around the Landgrave's table, and spent a day in social intercourse, with candid and informal comparison of views, the fruit of which appears in *The Marburg Articles*, [2] drawn up by Luther, and with the exception of a portion of the article on the Lord's Supper, signed also by Zwingli and his associates. "We left Marburg with the hope, that as they con-

[1] De Wette, 3 : 5–13 ; *cf.* Erlangen, 32 : 398 *sqq.*, 36 : 320 *sqq.*; Melanchthon's account in *C. R.*, 1 : 1099 *sqq.*

[2] Erlangen, 65 : 88 *sqq.*; in English, *Book of Concord* (Jacobs), ii., 69–74.

ceded all the Christian articles, and had receded from their former error concerning the Holy Sacrament, they would in time completely unite with us." [1] The prevalence of an epidemic hastened the dispersion of the participants to their homes. Called upon to preach on the morning before he left Marburg, Luther's sermon [2] is without the least reminiscence of the contest. It is a calm, practical, edifying discourse on civil rights and the forgiveness of sins.

[1] *Short Confession concerning the Lord's Supper* (1545), Erlangen, 32: 405.

[2] Erlangen, 14: 206 *sqq.*

LUTHER'S COAT OF ARMS.

CHAPTER VIII

COBURG AND AUGSBURG

ON his journey homeward Luther tarried at Schleiz, to prepare a doctrinal basis for a conference, to be held at Schwabach, October 16th.[1] The coming of the Emperor to Germany was regarded with serious apprehension. Luther's opinion being invoked by the Elector as to whether the evangelical princes would be justified in making armed resistance, in case Charles should undertake to enforce the decree of Spires, he gave an unqualified negative answer. If the Emperor act unjustly, the remedy, he maintains, is deposition by due legal process. But as long as he is the sovereign, he must be obeyed, and to resort to revolutionary measures implies a denial of faith in the power of God's word to bring about the change. A few days afterwards the announcement was made that the Emperor would open the Diet at Augsburg

[1] *Schwabach Articles;* in English, *Book of Concord,* ii., 69-74.

on the 8th of April, 1530. Measures against the Turk, and the settlement of the religious dissension in the spirit of love, were the announced program. The Wittenberg theologians were summoned by the Elector (March 14th), to prepare, within six days, a report concerning the disputed ceremonies and matters of doctrine. The result was a memorandum, chiefly concerning ceremonies.[1] The Elector, uncertain as to what issues might be sprung upon him, wanted his theological advisers with him. Leaving Wittenberg on Sunday, April 3d, the theologians joined the Elector at Torgau. Palm Sunday was spent at Weimar, where the Lord's Supper was administered, and a rest of several days was taken. On Good Friday (April 15th) Coburg was reached, where the party remained for over a week.

The prediction had been made that the Elector would not venture to appear at Augsburg. Not only was he to be the first on the ground, but he was taking with him the man who was the chief cause of offence. No Imperial passes had been furnished, and it was deemed the part of prudence to move cautiously. The Elector seems to have given up, with great reluctance, the thought of having Luther by his side during this crisis; but the opposition of the Nurembergers to the continuance of his journey resulted in the Elector's placing him in the powerful citadel of Coburg, behind walls that in the Thirty Years' War were to defy all the

[1] *Book of Concord*, ii., 75 *sqq.*; in German (original), Foerstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, i., 68 *sqq.*

efforts of Wallenstein. Luther acquiesced reluctantly, and suggested that the real reason was that he had "too coarse a voice" for the Diet.[1] But he took comfort in the thought: "Whatever pleases God, pleases me."[2] Taken to the fortress before break of day on the 23d, he remained for more than five months on an elevation of over 1500 feet above the sea, and 500 feet above the city which it overhangs. In this ideal place for a summer home, with the quiet broken only by the songs and cries of birds, and its magnificent prospect covering many miles, he found a much-needed change of scene, even though his restless spirit only turned to other forms of work. Always living intensely amidst whatever surroundings, his fancy saw, in the daws and crows and ravens, now crowds of chattering sophists, who consumed the grain, only to dispute, and then an Imperial Diet, such as was assembling at Augsburg. Their characteristics were closely observed, and, as they strutted before him, individual participants in current events were recognised.

The mountain he called "Sinai"; but said that he would change it into Zion, by building there three tabernacles, one for the Psalms, another for the Prophets, and a third for Æsop.[3] His effort to complete the translation of the Psalms by Whitsunday was thwarted by frequent attacks of head-

[1] The suggestion of Pallavicini, however, seems most plausible, viz., that the Emperor would have regarded the presence of one who had been condemned by the Edict of Worms as an unpardonable act of defiance.—*Vera Historia Concilii Tridentini* (Latin translation), Antwerp, 1670, i., 232.

[2] De Wette, 4 : 12.

[3] *Ib.*, 2.

ache and insomnia and symptoms of his former heart trouble. For a time his illness occasioned the gravest apprehensions at Augsburg, and a physician was sent to the castle by the Elector. The shadow of a severe affliction was cast upon him by the tidings, on June 9th, that his father had departed this life, strong in the faith his son had confessed and taught. Veit Dietrich, a young Nuremberg pastor, and former inmate of his house, who was Luther's companion at Coburg, narrates that, on reading the letter, he picked up his Psalter and retired for the rest of the day to his room, where in solitude he comforted himself with the consolations so abundantly offered in his favourite book of devotion. To Melanchthon he poured out his grief in a letter in which he said that to his father he owed all that he was and had.[1]

But grief was as powerless as joy to interrupt long his work. In the writing of an exposition of Psalm CXVIII., he found especial comfort. Recreation was afforded by paraphrasing some of Æsop's fables. Here, too, shortly after learning of his father's death, he wrote a letter to his four-year-old son, Hans, in which he describes the joys of Heaven under imagery that a child can best understand:

"Where merry children run about in their little golden coats, gathering nice apples and pears and cherries and plums from under the trees, and riding on pretty horses with golden bridles and silver saddles, and where they have pipes and drums and lutes and all sorts of stringed instruments, and shoot with their cross-bows."[2]

[1] De Wette, 4 : 33.

[2] *Ib.*, 41 *sqq.*

SVBDOMINI
IHESV ET MARIAE PATROCINIO.

Articulos 404 partim ad diſputationes Lipſicam, Badeñ, & Bernefi attinentes, partim vero ex ſcriptis pacem eccleſiæ perturbantium extractos, Coram diuo Cæſare Carolo V. Ro. Imp. ſemper Augu. 2c. ac proceribus Imperii; Ioan. Eckius minimus eccleſiæ miniſter, offert ſe diſputaturum, vt in ſcheda latius explicatur Auguſtæ Vindelicorum.

Die: &hora poſterius conſenſu publicandis Cæſaris

TITLE-PAGE OF ECK'S 404 THESES CIRCULATED AT AUGSBURG, TO WHICH THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION IS IN PART A REPLY.

In spirit at Augsburg, he determined to make his voice also heard there, and wrote, accordingly, during the first weeks of his stay at the castle, an *Exhortation to the Clergy*,[1] then assembled at the Diet. Before the Diet actually opened, the book, which has been called "Luther's Augsburg Confession," had been printed and was on sale at the place where all eyes, for the time, were resting.

What course to pursue in case the Emperor should forbid evangelical preaching during the Diet was a question that much agitated the Protestants on the ground. Luther's answer, when his opinion was asked, was that the only proper course would be to submit under protest. The Emperor, to conciliate them as much as possible, made the prohibition universal, and while the Diet was in session neither Roman Catholic nor Protestant sermon was preached.

Not until June 15th did the Emperor reach Augsburg. The Elector had been awaiting his arrival for over six weeks. Ample time, therefore, was given Melanchthon for the preparation of the Confession. Begun at Coburg, with the portion treating of abuses based upon the *Torgau Articles*, and the doctrinal part upon the *Schwabach Articles*, every moment that could be found at Augsburg had been devoted to writing and rewriting and improving every sentence. The 404 *Theses* of Eck, consisting of extracts not only from the writings of the Saxon theologians,[2] but also from those of Zwingli, Carlstadt, and Denck, col-

[1] Erlangen, 24 : 329 *sqq*.

[2] Including the forty-one alleged errors of Luther contained in the Pope's Bull.

lected with the view of making the Lutherans responsible for most of the heresies the Church had in former years condemned, showed the necessity of rendering the doctrinal statement particularly explicit. Communication was maintained with Luther at Coburg. On May 15th he wrote that the Confession, or "Apology," as he calls it, pleased him so well that he could suggest no changes, and says that he himself could not have composed it, as he could not tread so softly or gently.[1] One week later, Melanchthon wrote of many changes he had made, and asked for another revision. Luther's anxiety may be imagined when this was followed by a silence of three weeks, and, although he knew that his friend was preoccupied, he was not disposed to suppress his indignation when the silence was broken. After the Confession had been presented to the Diet on the 25th of June, Luther wrote: "I am exceedingly glad to have lived to this hour, in which Christ has been preached in so glorious a Confession."[2] His statement that he could not have trodden so gently, indicates no differences with respect to the substance, but only to the form of the teaching. What Melanchthon was wont to plead for, as though its acceptance would be a favour, Luther demanded as an ambassador of Christ. Nor would he have hesitated to sharpen the antithesis by stating some points more specifically, which Melanchthon clothed

[1] De Wette, 4 : 17 *sq.*

[2] *Ib.*, 71. "Mihi vehementer placet vixisse in hanc horam, qua Christus per suos tantos confessores in tanto congressu publice est praedicatus confessione plane pulcherrima."

in general terms. He rejoiced in the manner in which his opponents had been thwarted with respect to the prohibition concerning preaching.

"They thought," he wrote, "that they had gained a great point in having the preaching interdicted by the Emperor; but the infatuated men did not see that by this written Confession, this doctrine is preached more and is more widely diffused than it could have been had ten preachers done it." [1]

One man among the friends of the Confession did not participate in the general exultation. That man was its composer. With a deep sense of his responsibility for negotiations still pending, he was full of anxiety. Luther gently chided Melanchthon for his fears.

"In private conflicts I am the weaker and you the stronger, but in public matters you are what I am in private affairs. For you despise your own life while you fear for a public cause; but I am of a peaceful mind in public matters, since I know the cause to be just and true, and to belong to Christ and God, although as a private Christian I am compelled to pale and tremble. Hence I am almost a secure spectator, and take little account of these fierce and menacing adversaries. If we fall, then Christ falls with us. Be it so! I would sooner fall with Christ than stand with the Emperor." [2]

Veit Dietrich, at the same time, drew a beautiful picture of Luther's courage and devotional habits in a letter sent Melanchthon for his further support.

[1] De Wette, 4: 82 *sq.*

[2] *Ib.*, 62 *sq.*

"The remarkable firmness, cheerfulness, faith, and hope of the man I cannot sufficiently admire. These he nourishes by diligent meditation upon God's word. Not a day passes that he does not devote three hours, and those the hours most suitable for study, to prayer. Once I happened to hear him praying. 'I know,' he said, 'that Thou art our God and Father; I am sure, therefore, that Thou wilt destroy the persecutors of thy children; if not, the danger is Thine as well as ours. We have been compelled to meet it; defend us, then!' In almost these very words I heard him pray, as he stood up and spake with a clear voice."[1]

No settlement of the doctrinal questions in dispute was anticipated by Luther. That the adherents of Rome would not yield he was confident, and he knew that the representatives of the evangelical cause could not. His sole care was not the wrath of enemies, but the timidity of Melanchthon, and the danger of unwarranted concessions that this brought. Once, when Melanchthon wrote him of Eck's acceptance, under certain qualifications, of the formula "Men are justified by faith alone," preferring the statement "they are justified by grace and faith," and at the same time suggested that Eck did not understand the meaning of the terms, Luther wrote sharply: "Oh, that you had not forced him to lie!"[2]

When the work of the Diet was over, and the danger of perilous concessions seemed, for the time, to have passed, he congratulated Melanchthon and his associates in glowing words:

[1] *C. R.*, 2: 158 *sq.*

[2] De Wette, 4: 145 *sq.*

"You have confessed Christ, you have offered peace, you have obeyed the Emperor, you have borne injuries, you have been loaded with blasphemies, you have not rendered evil for evil; in short, you have worthily conducted a holy work of God—as becometh saints; I will canonise you as faithful members of Christ; and what greater glory can you seek?"[1]

Almost at the last moment, however, vigilant friends at Augsburg suggest to Luther new suspicions concerning Melanchthon. At once he informs Melanchthon of the charge, and adds: "I would sooner believe you than them"; but asks an immediate explanation,[2] and, lest this should not be enough, writes to Jonas:

"I know the tricks of Eck. I am almost bursting with wrath and indignation. Cease, I beseech you, to deal with them, and return. They have the Confession; they have the Gospel. If they want, let them receive these; if not, let them go to their own place."[3]

But the danger having passed before the letters reached Nuremberg, they were prudently withheld by the trusted friend through whom they were to be delivered.

On September 14th, Duke John Frederick, the Electoral Prince, reached Coburg unexpectedly, on his way from the Diet, and presented Luther with a gold ring, which proved to be entirely too large. Luther's remark, as it fell from his finger, was that he was born to wear lead or a halter, rather than

[1] De Wette, 4: 165. [2] *Ib.*, 168. [3] *Ib.*, 171.

gold. On the 25th, Bucer, who had been uniformly repulsed by Melanchthon in all his approaches at Augsburg, arrived, in order to see if some agreement could not be reached with Luther on the Lord's Supper. He was received with every courtesy. Luther was gratified that since Marburg decided progress had been made in what he regarded the right direction.

"I told you at Coburg," he wrote several months afterwards to Bucer, "that I wanted this dissension settled, even though my life had to be laid down three times on account of it; because I saw how necessary association with you would be, and what advantages to the Gospel it would bring, so that I am certain that all the gates of Hell, all the Papacy, all the Turks, all the world, and the flesh, and all evils whatsoever, could not do such harm to the Gospel, if we were only united."[1]

The evangelical representatives were already on their return. The Landgrave, in disgust, had left precipitately, August 6th, creating strong apprehensions that he was plotting against the Diet, and that a military attack might be expected at any time. Extraordinary precautions against the danger were taken. A preliminary draught of the Recess was submitted to the evangelicals on September 22d, in which it was stated that, as their Confession had been thoroughly refuted in the *Confutation*, prepared by Eck, Faber, Wimpina, and Cochlæus, a period until the succeeding April 15th was allowed for them to return to the Catholic faith. Until then

[1] De Wette, 4: 216 *sq.*

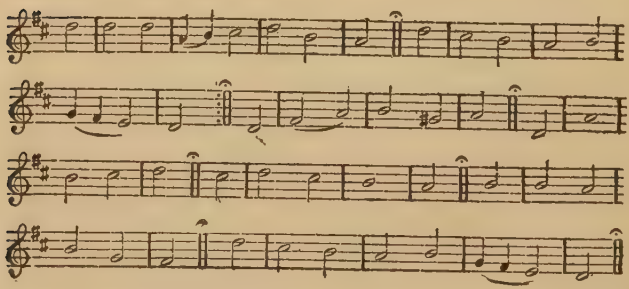
they were prohibited from publishing anything on the subjects in controversy. The sole concession to the evangelicals was the promise of a general council. In reply, they offered a refutation of the *Confutation*, prepared by Melanchthon, known as *The Apology of the Augsburg Confession*. The Emperor declining to receive it, it was afterwards much more fully elaborated and published the succeeding spring. When the Emperor and the Elector parted the next day, the scene was full of pathos. "Uncle," said the Emperor, "I would not have expected this of you!" The Elector was too deeply moved to reply. The Catholic party, left to themselves, continued in session until November 19th. Their counsels were divided; since the German princes and states, especially in view of the threatened Turkish invasion, were not ready to war upon their neighbours and kinsmen, while other members of the Diet urged the forcible execution of the edicts of Worms and Spires.

The Elector and Melanchthon reached Luther at the castle on October 4th, and on the following day all started for Wittenberg. Sunday was spent at Altenburg, where Spalatin was then pastor. Luther preached, and during the course of the day, finding Melanchthon labouring in Spalatin's house on the *Apology*, snatched the pen from his colleague's hand, with the remark that God has commanded rest, as well as labour.

A memorial of the stay at Coburg, which Luther explained in a letter to his friend, Spengler,[1] was

[1] De Wette, 4: 79 *sqq*.

"the coat of arms," devised as an emblem of his theology. It was probably engraved on the ring presented by the Electoral Prince at this time. Within a heart, retaining its natural colour, there lies a black cross, to show that nothing but faith in the Crucified saves. This heart, in which the cross is enshrined, rests upon a white rose, to indicate that joy and peace are gifts of the Holy Spirit. The rose is in an azure field, to declare that such peace and faith are the beginning of heavenly joys; and the whole is surrounded by a gold ring, emblematic of eternity, as well as of the preciousness of these gifts. Nevertheless the emblem was used by Luther before, and appears upon the title-page of the first edition of his *Confession concerning the Lord's Supper*, published in 1528.



MUSIC COMPOSED BY LUTHER FOR HIS GREAT REFORMATION HYMN.
(*See p. 231.*)

LUTHER IN 1537.

CHAPTER IX

THE SCHMALKALD LEAGUE AND THE STRUGGLES WITH ROME AND FANATICISM.

WITH the pastoral duties of Bugenhagen, who was sent to Luebeck for a protracted period, added to his own, Luther undertook a burden upon his return from Coburg that he was scarcely able to bear. The calls for his advice and his offices as an arbiter in Church troubles great and small were incessant. So intensely had he lived and laboured, that at forty-seven he began to feel the infirmities of age. Never afterwards was he in robust health. He suffered frequent attacks of vertigo and roaring in his head, interrupting all regular habits of work. "My head is no longer equal to such labours," was his sad remark, when cherished schemes had to be foregone.

Preparing for the worst, in view of the final decree of the Diet, the evangelical princes sought his advice once more as to their right to resist the Emperor.

In his answer he modified his preceding opinion so as to place upon the jurists the responsibility of deciding the constitutional limits, beyond which the Emperor could not demand obedience; although, in the absence of such decision, and the regular action of the princes and estates, the Emperor was still to be obeyed. Meanwhile, against the protest of the Elector, Ferdinand had been elected "King of the Romans," and charged with the authority of the Emperor in the administration of affairs in Germany. In making this protest, the Elector acted against Luther's advice, who preferred to risk Ferdinand's election to the danger of having John deposed to make room for Duke George as elector. An alliance was formed by the evangelicals, March 29, 1531, in "The Schmalkald League," combining all the Lutheran princes and states, with the four cities that had presented the Tetrapolitan Confession at Augsburg, into a strong military confederation. The League was strengthened by an alliance with the Catholic Dukes of Bavaria, who were hostile to Ferdinand's election. Treaties were made the following year with Denmark and France, while England's silent approval was understood. Pressed by the growing importance of the League, and never relieved from the threatened invasion of the Turks, the "Peace of Nuremberg" was conceded by the Emperor, guaranteeing, until the convening of a diet or general council, religious liberty to the confederates, upon the stipulation that they would allow no innovations beyond those admitted in the Augsburg Confession and the Apology.

FERDINAND I.

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY BEHAM.

During the progress of these political negotiations, Luther in several publications[1] exposed the errors that the Diet of Augsburg had promulgated, and made a strong appeal to the people against the war that his enemies were contemplating. When attacked by an anonymous writer, who misrepresented him as inciting to insurrection, he repelled the charge in his book *Against the Assassin at Dresden.*[2] Luther may or may not have known that his antagonist was none other than Duke George. At any rate, he had thus another difficulty with the Duke to settle, who, according to his custom, laid his grievances before the Elector. Radicalism once more claimed attention, in his book, written in 1532, *Against the Sneaks and Hedge Preachers.*[3] It was a warning against those who, under the plea of the universal priesthood of believers, claimed that the exercise of the ministerial office is allowed all Christians, and that, therefore, the Church regulations setting men apart for this work are a remnant of the Papacy. A controversy also broke out at Nuremberg, where Osiander attacked the general Absolution, and Luther's services were employed to bring peace. The Elector's commandant at Wittenberg, having been known to be guilty of immorality, was resolutely excluded from the communion. Much correspondence and many interviews were occasioned by this delicate but decided exercise of the pastoral office.

Luther lost his mother, June 30, 1531. His second son, Martin, was born November 9th of the same

[1] Erlangen, 25: 1, 51. [2] *Ib.*, 89 *sqq.* [3] *Ib.*, 31: 213 *sqq.*

year, and his youngest son, Paul, January 28, 1533. The declining health of the Elector summoned him several times to his bedside during a critical illness early in 1532. After seeming recovery, the Prince was stricken with apoplexy, and died, in his sixty-fifth year, August 16, 1532. His son and successor, John Frederick, was on more intimate terms with Luther, and, by his unflinching courage in confessing the faith, in peril of life and in protracted imprisonment, amidst the trials that followed Luther's death, deserves to be honoured as one of the greatest heroes of the Reformation. His wife, Sybilla, also took an active interest in everything pertaining to the cause, and was an occasional correspondent with Luther.

Zwingli's projects of reformation meanwhile had met with a disastrous end in the battle of Cappel, October 11, 1531, in which he was among the slain. Luther compared his fate with that of Muenzer, and regarded it as a divine judgment. "Not that we rejoice," he writes, "at their calamity, but from our hearts lament it." [1]

Much to his displeasure, Luther was compelled to give an opinion in September, 1531, concerning the proposed divorce of Henry VIII. from Catherine of Aragon, aunt of the Emperor. Catherine was older than Henry, had been his brother's widow, and was forced upon him, with the Pope's dispensation, by his father, Henry VII., in an arrangement which he

[1] De Wette, 4 : 352 : "Nicht dass wir uns freuen ihres Unglücks, das uns von Herzen leid ist, und alle Zeit gewesen ; sondern dass wir das Zeugniss der Wahrheit Gottes nicht lassen können."

openly repudiated on coming of age, but in which he afterwards acquiesced. There was no question about the entire irregularity of the marriage according to Canonical Law. Clement VII., while at war with the Emperor, was favourable to Henry's petition, but when peace followed, his refusal to grant the divorce was absolute. An attempt was made by Henry to create a sentiment in his favour by an accumulation on his side of opinions from universities throughout all Europe. Dr. Robert Barnes, a convert to Lutheranism, represented Henry's cause at Wittenberg. Luther's answer was most decided: "If the adversaries carry the King with them, let our men try, with all their might, at least to keep the Queen from consenting in any way to the divorce. Let her die rather than become an accomplice in such a crime." [1]

The accession of John Frederick to the Electorate was followed by new activity in visitations, the preparation of Church Constitutions, and the reorganisation of the University. Luther's ill-health prevented him from active participation in the visitations, although his counsel was constantly employed. A Church Constitution was prepared for Wittenberg in 1533,[2] defining it as the metropolis of Saxony, and its pastor as Chief Superintendent. The regulations are of a more permanent character than in the preceding Orders, although everything still has reference to a possible acceptance of the evangelical faith by the bishops, and the restoration of their supervision. The Margrave of

[1] De Wette, 4 : 306.

[2] Richter, i., 220 *sqq.*

Brandenburg and the Council of Nuremberg entrusted the preparation of a common Order for their churches to Osiander and Brenz, who submitted it to the thorough revision of the Wittenberg faculty. It was published the same year, 1533, and became one of the most influential Lutheran Orders.[1] The revised statute of the University made the exposition of the Scriptures the chief duty of every member of the theological faculty, and particularly mentioned the Epistle to the Romans, the Gospel of John, the Psalms, Genesis, and Isaiah as topics for lectures. The first doctors of divinity, under the new Order, received their titles with much ceremony, and a largely attended banquet. They were Bugenhagen, Cruciger, and the Hamburg superintendent, Æpinus.

Unwearied in his efforts to prevent the spread of the evangelical cause, Duke George was ever falling beneath the censure of Luther's pen, whose words stung him to the quick. An order that the citizens of Leipzig should receive, on Easter, 1533, the communion in one form, in order that the Lutherans might be known by their refusal to comply, occasioned a request for his advice. In a private letter, which fell into the hands of the Duke, he declared that no one convinced that the Lord's Supper should be received in both forms, could receive it otherwise, without doing violence to conscience.[2] The title "apostle of the devil" having been applied to George, he complained to the Elector that Luther was instigating his subjects to rebellion.

[1] Richter, i., 176 *sqq.*

[2] De Wette, 4 : 443 *sqq.*

When called to account by John Frederick, Luther published his defence,[1] in which he disclaimed any attempt to interfere with George's exercise of his rights as a lawful ruler. But, he continued, if, in this letter, Duke George was called by such name, this was not saying too much.

"We know well that, before the world, Duke George is invested with princely honour, and is a noble prince of the Empire; but before God, and in spiritual things, we concede him no honour, unless it be that of Pilate, Herod, and Judas, who condemned and slew Christ and His apostles because of God's Word."

Advance sheets of a violent defence of George having been received, Luther anticipated it by *A Short Answer to Duke George's Next Book*.[2] In 1534 the controversy threatened to break out once more, when Luther was reported to have asked the congregation to pray against the Duke. That he had ever made such a request, he emphatically denied.

Relieved by Bugenhagen's return of his duty of filling the pulpit of the Parochial Church, Luther conducted a service every Sunday in his house, in which he expounded the Gospel for the day. It attracted not only a large number of friends, but also of strangers who visited Wittenberg. Reduced to writing by some of the listeners, this series of sermons constitutes the famous *House Postils*.[3] At the same time he was devoting his chief attention, as a university teacher, to a new exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, which, as published in

[1] Erlangen, 31 : 227 *sqq*. [2] *Ib*., 269 *sqq*. [3] *Ib*., 1–6.

1535,[1] has been termed "Luther's Dogmatics and Ethics, upon the Basis of Justification by Faith Alone." For his barber, Peter, he wrote, in 1534, *A Simple Way to Pray*.[2]

Notwithstanding the bitter experience of the Peasants' War, Anabaptism had continued to spread. The rejection of infant baptism was only one of its characteristics. The real principle, from which all the peculiarities of its advocates proceeded, was that of the Zwickau prophets. They undervalued the authority of the written Word, and professed to have new and immediate revelations. They made much of regulations concerning mere externals, such as the cut of the clothing, eating and drinking and laughing; repudiated the magistracy, and denied the right of individuals to possess property. Muenster, in Westphalia, became in 1534–35, in spite of Luther's earnest warnings, the scene of their most extravagant procedures. The reformatory movement, under Rottman, was diverted from its course by their emissaries, and the pastor himself became a proselyte and preached polygamy. Under John Bockelson of Leyden, and Jan Matthiesen, the most radical form of communism was advocated in the name of religion. Thither congregated their persecuted co-religionists from all quarters. Death inflicted with brutal cruelty was the penalty of those of the citizens who persisted in resistance to their lawless schemes. For sixteen months the place withstood a siege from the forces of the Bishop of Muenster, supported by all the power of the Em-

[1] *Op. ex.*, 24–5.

[2] *Ib.*, 23: 214 *sqq.*

peror, and reinforced by the Protestants, who, by their co-operation in the effort to suppress fanaticism, emphasised their utter repudiation of radicalism. Terrible were the privations endured by those besieged, and most severe was the punishment meted to those who surrendered. Upon the capture of the city, June 25, 1535, the Roman Catholic power was completely re-established.

A less serious outbreak of fanaticism was that of which Michael Stiefel, pastor at Lochau, was guilty, who, by arithmetical calculations, inferred from the Apocalypse that the end of the world would occur October 19, 1533, at eight o'clock in the morning. The importunate efforts of Stiefel to convert him to this belief, Luther answered by stating that he preferred to expect that Christ might come at any hour, and warned his friend of the snare into which he was falling by his mathematical calculations.[1] Against the prohibition of the magistrates, Stiefel assembled his congregation early in the morning of the appointed day; but, when the hour for the Lord's appearance had passed, the officers, who were patiently waiting, arrested and conducted him, a somewhat wiser man, to Wittenberg. "Michael," said Luther, "has had a small trial; but it will not hurt him; on the contrary, thank God! he will be the better for it."

A bold stroke of great political significance was made by the Landgrave, when, without the support of the Elector of Saxony, and against the protests of Luther, ever advocating peace to the very farthest limit, he carried to a successful conclusion a plan to

[1] De Wette, 4: 463.

restore Wuertemberg to his friend, the exiled Duke Ulrich. No one was more rejoiced by the result than was Luther, although the enterprise had been contrary to his best judgment.

The growing influence of the Schmalkald League made its friendship desirable on the part of all arrayed against the Emperor, or jealous of his power. Francis I. invited Melanchthon to France, that an agreement between the French and the Lutheran theologians might be reached. Although this scheme was favoured by Luther, the Elector's opposition could not be overcome. Henry VIII. did not allow any feeling of resentment he may have harboured because of the decision concerning his divorce and the scathing attacks of Luther to interfere with his ambition, not only to be enrolled as a member of the League, but even to be its head. His approaches were favoured by the flattering introduction in which Melanchthon (much to Luther's disgust) had dedicated to the English King the edition of his *Loci* of 1535. The Elector met all propositions by the answer that the acceptance of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology was an indispensable condition of admission into the League. At the sessions of the League in December, 1535, a commission of three English theologians, Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, Nicholas Heath, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Dr. Robert Barnes, accordingly appeared, and proceeded thence to Wittenberg, where they spent the greater portion of the months of January, February, and March, 1536, in frequent consultations with the theologians there, in

the course of which they discussed the Augsburg Confession, article by article, and considered elaborate papers prepared for its explanation. On the doctrinal articles agreement was found to be much easier than upon those concerning abuses. The commission was embarrassed by the necessity of consulting the King at every step; and, finally, the negotiations were broken by unsurmountable obstacles encountered while considering the abuses of the Mass. Resumed in 1538 by a Lutheran commission to England, they were fruitless, so far as the end immediately in view was concerned, but had a permanent influence upon the subsequent history of the English Church.[1]

[1] For details and documents see my *Lutheran Movement in England and its Literary Monuments* (Philadelphia, 1890).

MARTIN BUCER.

CHAPTER X

VERGERIUS; THE WITTENBERG CONCORD; AND THE SCHMALKALD ARTICLES

THE long-delayed Council was at last in prospect. Cardinal Vergerius was sent to Germany as papal nuncio to make the necessary preparations, and, by intercourse with the German princes, to learn the exact condition of things there. Although the University had again removed from Wittenberg to Jena because of the plague, Luther, as before, remained at his home, and, on account of the lightness of the epidemic, was spared the sad scenes through which he had passed in 1527. Here Vergerius braved whatever peril there was on his way from Halle to Berlin by tarrying overnight (November 6, 1535) at the neighbouring castle of the Elector. Luther declined his invitation to supper, but accepted one from the governor of the castle, sent at the cardinal's request, to breakfast there the next morning. He treated the entire transaction with

CARDINAL VERGERIUS.

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY HENDRIK HONDIUS.

humour. Shaved, in order that the appearance of youth might terrify his adversary, dressed in his best attire because it was Sunday, with a gold chain around his neck, a ring on his finger, and a priest's cap on his head, he set out for the castle with Bugenhagen as his companion. As they entered the carriage, he exclaimed: "Here go the Pope of Germany and Cardinal Pomeranus." It was a different interview from that which he had with Cajetan at Augsburg, seventeen years before. Vergerius was received with courtesy, but the weapons of Italian diplomacy were foiled by those of German *Gemuethlichkeit*.

The cardinal was entertained with accounts of Luther's interesting children and his hopes of his eldest son, while inquiries concerning the negotiations with the English were skilfully averted by the expression of surprise at the interest still taken at Rome in the affairs of Henry VIII. "During the whole meal," he writes, "I played the genuine Luther." The Wittenbergers, he said, did not need a council, for their position with respect to the Gospel was now fixed; but it was needed by the world, in order that all might learn to know what truth and what error are. In their requests for such a council, he did not think the Papists in earnest; and if a council were called, the only subjects they would care about having discussed, would be those of monks' cowls, priests' tonsures, etc. "He has hit the nail on the head," said Vergerius in subdued voice to a companion. "Nevertheless," said Luther,[1] "I am

[1] De Wette, 4: 648, 655; *C. R.*, 2: 782, 896, 973, 979, 1018; Walch, xvi., 2293.

coming to the Council, and, if I do not defend my position there, I will lose my head." Thirteen years later, Vergerius abandoned bishopric, country, and all that he had, to become a Lutheran, and spent the close of his life as translator and author of books teaching the faith he had once sought to suppress. In his reports to Rome of his interview, there are, however, no indications that he was already shaken in his position. He speaks of Luther as "a beast," and shows how well Luther's strategy had succeeded by his statement that, while Luther was slightly over fifty, his appearance was so fresh that he would scarcely be taken for a man who had passed beyond forty.

The personal presence of the Emperor at Rome was needed before the indefinite purposes of Paul III. ripened into the decree, which he published, calling the Council at Mantua, for the 23d of May, 1537. While these negotiations were transpiring, those between Bucer and the Wittenberg theologians, after passing through several critical stages, had reached a successful termination. The conference, arranged to meet at Eisenach, and then, on account of the state of Luther's health, at Grimma, was finally transferred to Wittenberg, and met in Luther's house. With interruptions because of his illness, it was in session from May 22d to 29th. On the very eve of this meeting, Luther's friendly attitude towards Bucer received a severe shock, and his indignation was aroused by the publication of the correspondence between Zwingli and Œcolampadius, with an introduction by Bucer, inconsistent, as

Luther thought, with any change in his doctrine of the Holy Supper. A preliminary interview, in which Bucer was received with marked coldness, resulted in a reconciliation; and the conference, in which Bucer and Capito were the chief representatives of the other side, proceeded. An agreement was soon reached that "with the bread and wine, the Body and Blood of Christ are truly and substantially present, offered and received." As to the communion of the unworthy, they could not agree, Bucer maintaining that the unbelieving do not receive the Body of Christ, and Luther, that they receive it to their condemnation. "Concerning this," said Luther, "we will not quarrel. Since such is your position, we are one, and we recognise and receive you as our dear brethren in the Lord, so far as concerns this article." With tears Bucer and Capito received Luther's hand. The Augsburg Confession and the Apology were accepted as correct exhibitions of doctrine. In the midst of the conference Ascension Day came, and Luther preached on the text, "Go ye into all the world," etc., with a vigour and an eloquence that astonished even his nearest friends. In the evening he entertained the entire party at his house, and provided for them vocal and instrumental music. On Sunday, Alberus, one of Bucer's party, preached in the morning, Bucer in the afternoon, and Luther in the evening.[1] Capito and Bucer communed with

[1] *Wittenberg Concord* in English, *Book of Concord*, ii., 253 *sqq.*; for history see authorities there cited. Original documents in *C. R.*, 3: 75 *sqq.*

the congregation. As they left the next day, Luther said : " Let us bury the past and roll the stone upon it."

With great disfavour the Elector received the Papal Bull convening the Council to be held at Mantua. In it he saw only another plot, and wished to decline its further consideration. But Luther, supported by all his colleagues and the jurists, urged the importance of an acceptance. A declinature he thought justifiable only in case the evangelicals were summoned to hear, without being also heard. The League was called upon to meet at Schmalkald, in February, 1537. Luther was commissioned to prepare a paper setting forth

" with Scriptural arguments, what in all the articles which he had hitherto taught, he had now to assert before a council, and in view of his final departure from this world to God's Judgment, and from which, without respect to peace or war and in spite of danger to body and property, he could not think of receding."

This paper, after submission to the other theologians, was to be transmitted to the Elector. Thus originated the so-called *Schmalkald Articles*, which were in the Elector's hands early in January. In these Articles, the antithesis with the Roman Catholics is most sharply emphasised. The irenic tone of the Augsburg Confession is changed for the notes of uncompromising war. They are intended to break off all negotiations with the Papacy once and forever. The Preface closes with the words: " O Lord Jesus Christ, do Thou Thyself convoke a council, and de-

liver Thy servants by Thy glorious advent. The Pope and his adherents are lost. They wish Thee not." The first section treats of those things concerning which there is no controversy; it consists of a restatement of the doctrine of the Trinity. The second comprises the doctrines of the Office and Work of Christ. Here the declaration is made: "Of this article, nothing can be yielded or surrendered, even though heaven and earth and all things should sink to ruin." The teaching in the Roman Church concerning the Mass, and the Invocation of Saints, and the Power of the Pope, are shown to detract from the merits and authority of Christ. In the third section those articles are considered, with respect to which the Papacy is said to be indifferent, but which, nevertheless, are fundamental to the controversy. The chief place here is given to the treatment of Repentance.[1]

Reaching Schmalkald on February 7th, Luther found there a large and influential assembly of princes, representatives of cities, and theologians, together with the Vice-Chancellor of the Empire and a papal nuncio. While the statesmen were occupied for a number of days with political negotiations, the theologians were idle. An "opinion," it is true, was prepared as to the policy of representation at the general council, and Luther preached several times; but he was restive at the inaction. At last he was seized by a most severe attack of calculus that threatened to be fatal. For eight

[1] *Schmalkald Articles* in English, *Book of Concord*, i., 303 *sqq.*; in German, Erlangen, 25 : 109 *sqq.*

days he was in agony. The Elector visited his sick-bed, and assured him that, if taken away, his wife and children would be provided for. The thought of dying away from Wittenberg distressed him, and he begged to be taken home. Accompanied by a skilful physician, and his friends Bugenhagen, Myconius, and Spalatin, he was sent from Schmalkald in a carriage on the 28th of February. Every motion of the carriage increased his suffering, and on the first day they proceeded but a few miles. But the ride did more for him than the remedies of the physician. Suddenly that night the cause of the trouble was removed, all his pain left him, and before daybreak he had written a letter to Melanchthon. As one of Luther's party hastened back to Schmalkald to convey the good news he rode past the lodging-place of the papal nuncio, crying out in Latin: "*Lutherus vivit!*" (Luther lives). The words have been transmitted to posterity as a watchword. Reaching Gotha the next day, he wrote to his wife, ascribing his recovery to the many prayers that had been offered on his behalf. But the relief was but temporary. The following day he was prostrated again, and for several days he lingered near the gates of death. He made his will and every preparation for his funeral. He reached home March 14th, greatly reduced in strength; for a week his limbs could scarcely bear the weight of his body.

Luther's Articles were never submitted to the statesmen assembled at Schmalkald, nor were they ever adopted in any assembly of theologians. The

most of the theologians had signed them at Wittenberg before they were sent to the Elector. At Schmalkald other names were added, yet by no one in a representative capacity, but only privately. The term *Schmalkald Articles* is a misnomer. They are a private confession of Luther, with the approval of those whose names are attached. An explicit declaration concerning the power of the Pope and the rights of bishops was called for by the presence at Schmalkald of the papal nuncio, and the refusal of the conference to receive him. This declaration, prepared by Melanchthon, and approved by the League, is published as an *Appendix to the Schmalkald Articles*. Melanchthon had caught the spirit of the meeting, and wrote with more than ordinary decision.

Against Luther's advice, the League decided to have nothing to do with the proposed council, the chief reason assigned being that it was not to be held on German soil. For a long time Luther continued to hold the opinion that the evangelical princes had made a great mistake, and the question has been raised in later years as to whether in case his advice had been followed the Schmalkald War would have arisen. It became manifest, therefore, that if the council were held, it would be composed exclusively of partisans of the Pope. Postponed from Mantua to Vicenza, the war between France and the Emperor first, and then the necessity of concentrating all efforts upon repelling the Turks, rendered a general council even of those faithful to Rome impossible.

An interesting episode of the convention at Schmalkald was the letter which Bucer brought thither from the Swiss to Luther. It was received and answered in a cordial spirit. Bucer followed Luther on his homeward way, in order to have, if possible, the conference with him that had been prevented by his severe illness. They had a conversation at Gotha. A letter, in the following December, expresses Luther's great hope that an entire reconciliation may yet be reached. New advances from the Bohemian Brethren were also received in the most friendly manner, and Luther tried to minimise the points of difference that still separated them.

DUKE HENRY OF SAXONY.

CHAPTER XI

NEW TRIUMPHS AND TRIALS

WITH his restoration to health, all Luther's energy was again thrown into his work at Wittenberg. Of the privilege afforded him by a generous increase of salary, and of relief from University duties, he did not avail himself. A course of lectures on Genesis was begun, which continued with many interruptions until the November before his death. The best fruits of his studies and of his varied experience are crowded into these comments, that touch an extraordinary range of subjects, and make the volume containing them among the most instructive, as well as most uniformly interesting of his works.[1] This work has been termed his swan's song, with allusion to the adage that just before death the swan sings her sweetest strains.

Bugenhagen having been relieved from his labours

[1] *Op. ex.*, 1–9.

for two years, in order that he might organise the reformation of the churches in Denmark, Luther assumed once more his pastoral duties, preaching regularly three times a week, and even oftener. Much time was devoted to the preparation of the book *Of the Councils and the Church*, which appeared in 1539.[1] This is another of his most thoroughly elaborated books. A great portion of the argument is historical, in which he reviews the various councils, and shows that they never originated an article of faith, but only declared what articles were found in Holy Scripture.

"There is no council or Father," he says, "in whom we can find or from which we can learn the entire Christian doctrine. That of Nice treats only of the fact that Christ is true God; that of Constantinople, that the Holy Ghost is God; that of Ephesus, that Christ is not two persons, but one; that of Chalcedon, that Christ has not one, but two natures. These are the four chief councils, and yet they have only these four doctrines. Nevertheless, this is not the Christian Faith. . . . In short, put all the councils and all the Fathers together and even then you cannot derive from them the entire doctrine of the Christian Faith. If the Holy Scriptures were not retained, the Church would not long abide by the councils or the Fathers."

The apprehension he expressed, when he thought that he was dying at Schmalkald, that hereafter dissensions would arise among those who had most cordially co-operated at Wittenberg, was based upon the knowledge of troubles that had already arisen,

[1] Erlangen, 252 : 19 *sqq.*

and amidst which he had soon most earnestly to contend. Melanchthon's timidity and concessions, as well as his singular zeal in amending and reformulating definitions and official statements, occasioned frequent suspicions. The new edition of his *Loci* of 1535 offered abundant material for the attacks of those disposed to be critical. Conrad Cordatus, visiting the lecture-room of Cruciger, was greatly exercised by his statement, which he defended by an appeal to Melanchthon, that repentance is an indispensable condition of justification. Cordatus understood them, by their expression *sine qua non*, to mean that repentance contributes towards justification, while they meant only to affirm that repentance was inseparably connected with justification.

If Cordatus was a narrow and dogmatical, but thoroughly conscientious opponent, in Dr. Jacob Schenck of Freiburg controversial ambition seemed to be the determining motive. He laid a complaint before the Elector charging Melanchthon with teaching that where the ruler so commanded, the Lord's Supper should be received in but one form. Changes in the statement of the doctrine of the Freedom of the Will dissatisfied Chancellor Brueck. Nor were charges wanting of secret inclination to Zwinglianism, and unwarranted concessions in the conference at Cassel. It had thus become fashionable to try to expose errors of Melanchthon. This was the very opportunity that Agricola wanted for renewing his obsolete controversy of ten years before. For years he had been serving as pastor at Eisleben; but, in answer to Luther's invitation to

participate in the deliberations of the theologians to whom the *Schmalkald Articles* were submitted, he resigned his pastorate and came to Wittenberg with his wife and nine children, as Luther's guest, greatly to the amazement of the Wittenberg household. Luther generously decided to give his visitor employment, and, therefore, charged him with filling his place both in the pulpit and in the lecture-room during his absence at Schmalkald. Thus entrusted with a most influential position, he used it for vindicating his imagined wrongs in the old controversy. In several sermons and in a series of theses, which he had printed for private distribution, he not only reasserted his rejection of the preaching of the Law, but collected a number of passages from the writings of Luther and Melanchthon, which he freely criticised and opposed to one another. Luther's first course was to preach on the relation of the preaching of the Law to that of the Gospel, with most careful suppression of every personal allusion. Afterwards he reprinted Agricola's theses, as those "of a certain Antinomian." This he followed with six public discussions of the theses, still carefully avoiding any mention of Agricola's name.[1]

"They preach beautifully," he said, "of grace and the forgiveness of sins and redemption, but avoid the doctrine of sanctification and the new life in Christ, in order that men may not be terrified but enjoy perpetual comfort. When they ought to say: 'You cannot be a Christian if you be an adulterer, a fornicator, a drunkard,' etc., they say: 'If you be such only believe in Christ,

[1] Erlangen, 32: 1 *sqq.*, 64 *sqq.*

and you need not fear the Law, for Christ has entirely fulfilled it for us.' "

For years there was irritation, Agricola privately renouncing his published statements, and then hesitating about making a public disclaimer, and his wife seeking with her tears to mitigate Luther's judgment of her husband. Some relief was gained by his removal to Berlin as court preacher; but, in spite of his professed change of mind, Luther continued to distrust him.

The complete argument of Luther in this controversy with Agricola is the best answer that can be given to the charge of his enemies, so frequently repeated, concerning the famous *Pecca fortiter* passage, in a private letter to Melanchthon, August 1, 1521.[1] Letters between confidential friends, and not written with the thought that any other eye will see them, must not be interpreted or criticised as though the expressions belonged to a formal theological treatise. Melanchthon, in distress of conscience, had been passing through an experience similar to that of Luther in the cloister. He was looking within himself for some ground of the grace of God. Hence Luther impresses upon him that all his hopes for God's favour must rest solely upon the merits of Christ, and nothing else. To the end of life he must be content to appear before God's bar —there was no help for it—as a sinner and nothing more. " Be a sinner," he writes, *i. e.*, Remember with all your distress that it is so, and that, with all

[1] De Wette, 2 : 37.

efforts to avoid sin, some sin still remains, and utterly prevents any hope of God's favour on the ground of your intrinsic holiness. But "sin boldly," *i. e.*, Do not be discouraged that you must constantly find yourself a sinner; but, since you have Christ, look up, with all your sin, in the full confidence that, for the sake of His merits, and not because of any hoped-for moral improvement, you are forgiven and adopted as God's child.

Through Ludwig Rabe, a citizen of Mayence, who boarded at Luther's table, and was threatened with punishment by Archbishop Albrecht, Luther's old antagonist, he was led to write him several severe letters, in which the Archbishop was accused of the murder of his confidential financial agent, John Schoenitz, or Schantz. Luther told the Archbishop that he deserved a gallows ten times as high as the castle of Giebichenstein in which his victim had been imprisoned. Begged to desist from such attacks by the bishop's cousin, the Elector of Brandenburg, his answer was that the house of David had many degenerate scions, the college of apostles had a Judas, and the compàny of angels a devil.[1]

Meanwhile the political situation in Germany was that of a drawn battle. The Frankfort Convention of 1539 resulted in a truce for fifteen months. Lutheranism was strengthened by the deaths in 1535 of Joachim of Brandenburg, and, in 1539, of George of Saxony. In Brandenburg the new Elector first tolerated, and then, in 1539, formally accepted the Reformation. The Church Constitution,

[1] De Wette, 4 : 614 *sqq.*, 676 *sqq.*

DUKE ALBERT OF PRUSSIA.

FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING.

prepared to carry out his plans of reorganisation, is among the most conservative of Lutheran orders, retaining all the ceremonies that are not antagonistic to evangelical teaching.[1] The opinion of Luther concerning this Order was:

"If the Margrave and Elector will have the Gospel preached in its purity, without human additions, and the two sacraments administered according to their institution, and will discontinue the intercession of saints, and the carrying of the sacrament in procession, and masses for the dead, and abolish holy water, and consecrated salt and herbs, and will have pure responsories and hymns sung in processions, then let him go on in God's Name, whether he have a silver or a golden cross carried, or wear a cap and gown of velvet, silk, or linen; and if one cap and gown be not enough, let them put on three, like Aaron; and if one procession be not enough, let them go round seven times, like Joshua; and if the Margrave should care about dancing with the music of harps and cymbals, as David did before the ark, I am satisfied. For such things neither add anything to the Gospel nor remove anything from it, if only they be not regarded as necessary for salvation or made a matter of conscience."[2]

The season of Whitsunday, 1539, was one of triumphant thanksgiving for Luther, when the successor of Duke George, his brother Henry, who, with his wife, had been for years an earnest friend of the Reformation, brought him to Leipzig, and the pulpits of all the churches in that city were filled

[1] Known as Mark-Brandenburg of 1540. Richter, i., 323 *sqq.*

[2] De Wette, 5 : 235 *sqq.*

with evangelical preachers. This was followed shortly afterwards by a systematic visitation, on which Jonas, Cruciger, and Spalatin were employed, and which in its revelations of the incompetency of the priests surpassed, if possible, even the visitation in the Elector's domains. The Reformation was accepted also in a portion of Mecklenburg in 1538, and in Brunswick-Calenberg in 1540.

In 1540, Dr. Robert Barnes, the English theologian, who had long been in sympathy with the doctrine of the Reformers, and had spent much time at Wittenberg, a frequent guest at Luther's table, and a member of the commission to Wittenberg in 1536, had to pay the penalty for his faith by martyrdom in the fires of Smithfield. At the stake he made a full confession of his faith, which Luther had translated into German, and published, with an introduction, at Wittenberg.

"It is an especial joy to us," he says, "to hear that our good, pious table-companion and guest has been so graciously called upon by God to shed his blood for His dear Son's sake, and to become a holy martyr. Thanks be to the Father of our dear Lord Jesus Christ, that He has permitted us to see again, as in the beginning, the times when Christians who have eaten and drunk with us, are taken before our eyes to become martyrs, which means to go to Heaven and become saints. . . . Dr. Barnes himself often told me: 'My king cares nothing for religion.' But he so loved his king and country that he was ready to endure everything, and was always meditating how to help England; for he was ever hoping that his king would turn out well at the last." [1]

[1] Erlangen, 63: 396 *sqq.*

LUTHER AT SIXTY. DR. PAUL LUTHER.

CHAPTER XII

THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE

THE endorsement of the secret marriage of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, during the lifetime, but with the consent, of his first wife, was the greatest blunder in Luther's career. When less than twenty years old, Philip had been married to the daughter of Duke George, and her moral and physical infirmities he alleged as his excuse for infidelity to his marriage vows. Adultery was so ordinary a vice among princes that Philip's course formed no great exception, and occasioned no special remark. But the conscience of the Landgrave was uneasy as he read in the Bible the divine judgments upon those who lead an impure life. Unwilling to return to his wife for reasons that he offered frankly to disclose, in case Luther would insist, he proposed as a remedy for his alleged irresistible temptations to sensuality, to follow the Old Testament example of taking a second wife. As early as 1526 he had submitted

to Luther the general question of the permissibility of polygamy, without reference to any particular case, and received the reply that it was absolutely unjustifiable. Melanchthon's opinion in 1531 as to the divorce of Henry VIII., in which he had pronounced against the divorce, but suggested the expedient of Old Testament polygamy, encouraged Philip.[1] A severe attack of illness was the consequence of the mental anguish through which he then passed. Dr. Sayler, his physician, having approved the plan, Bucer, the versatile theological diplomat, was summoned from Strassburg, and measures discussed for gaining the approval of the Wittenberg theologians. Margaret de Sale, a young lady whom he had met at the court of his sister, the Duchess of Rochlitz, and a distant relative, it was said, of Luther's wife, consented to marry Philip in case such approval were obtained. The Landgrave threatened that, if the approval were withheld, he would appeal to the Emperor. What Philip wanted Bucer to procure was a document expressing the public, or, if that were impossible, the private opinion of Luther and Melanchthon, that such second marriage, without a divorce from the former wife, was, under the peculiar circumstances, valid.

On Bucer's presentation of the case at Wittenberg, Luther's attitude to the case of Henry VIII., as well as his subsequent relations to Philip, showed that political motives had little consideration. His entire anxiety was to aid the Landgrave to a purer

[1] *C. R.*, 2 : 520–537.

life, to relieve him from distress of conscience, and to save his soul. The error into which Luther fell may be traced to several causes. His monastic life had given him a wrong conception of marriage, from the influence of which, despite his efforts, he never entirely escaped. He thought of it chiefly as a remedy for sensuality, and that, without a peculiar divine gift, no pure celibacy is possible. As Philip maintained that he was without such peculiar gift, and, according to his solemn asseveration, was unable to live with his wife, yet could secure no divorce, the inference of the validity of a second marriage was inevitable. To this was added a depreciation of woman—the remnant of his earlier years—which suggested that while such marriage, as a very rare exception, might be tolerated, nevertheless, for the sake of avoiding offence, it could be allowed only under the sanction of the utmost secrecy; so that while before God Margaret would be his lawful wife, she was to be known before the world only as his concubine! Still another motive was the reluctance to regard anything expressly sanctioned in the Old Testament as a sin. We can well understand how Bucer, in arguing the case, knew how to cite a passage in Luther's treatise on *The Babylonian Captivity*, in which,[1] as an extreme case, a second marriage, even without a divorce, is allowed to a wife who is in similar spiritual danger.

Luther and Melanchthon, accordingly, with the concurrence of Bucer and the Hessian theologians, in their opinion of December 10, 1539, declared that

[1] Weimar, vi., 558 *sq.*

monogamy is the original institution, and that, but for man's corrupt nature, no other marriage would be allowed; at the same time they maintain that the New Testament nowhere absolutely annuls the permission of polygamy given in the Old. They argue, therefore, that dispensations permitting a plurality of wives are still possible, and yet that the cases in which they are justifiable are so exceedingly peculiar and rare that such dispensations should not be published or be made known to the people generally. Expressing their deep regret at the impure life that the Landgrave has hitherto led, they implore him to reform, and approve only *in casu necessitatis* a marriage before witnesses sworn to absolute secrecy, while the world would be allowed to draw its own inferences![1]

With this remarkable document Bucer hastened to the Elector at Weimar, whose indignation was thoroughly aroused when he read it. Not only was he humbled that the evangelical cause was thus disgraced, but was wounded that the Wittenberg theologians should have so far forgotten what was due their sovereign as to have reached so unusual a decision on a question involving him, without first informing him of what was in contemplation. To the Landgrave he wrote begging him, notwithstanding the approval he had secured, to disregard it and proceed no farther. When, however, Bucer produced the written consent of the Landgrave's wife, the Elector urged that, if the marriage could not be prevented, it be secret. When the ceremony was

[1] De Wette, 5 : 237 *sqq.*

performed at Rothenburg, in March, 1540, Melanchthon accompanied Bucer as a witness. The very presence of Melanchthon, even if, as is sometimes affirmed, he had been taken thither by strategy, was an additional guarantee to the deceived woman that her course was not disapproved by those to whom she had looked for spiritual advice.

The transaction could not long be kept secret. Rumours of the marriage were soon afloat, traceable, it was said, to Margaret and her mother. Philip was anxious to meet these rumours by publishing the marriage, and defending it as a matter of conscience. But both the Elector and Luther demanded that no testimony concerning it should be given by those who actually knew the facts, Luther pleading that whatever pertained to confession for spiritual advice was forever confidential, and declaring that what is given as a private opinion is rendered null and void by publication. Never would he publicly defend the Landgrave's marriage! The Elector also declared that, in case Philip were called to account for the matter, he could not rely upon any aid from those with whom he stood in political alliance.[1]

Upon Melanchthon the anxiety bore most heavily. The responsibility of meeting the issue in the conference which the Emperor had called at Hagenau, and for which he knew that the chief burden of preparing all important papers would fall to his lot, oppressed him until, in June, 1540, he fell dangerously ill at Weimar. Luther was hastily summoned, and found Melanchthon at the very brink of the

[1] Letters of the Elector in *C. R.*, 3 : 1041–1054.

grave. Consciousness had gone. His eyes were set. The physician sent by the Elector, the same whose skill had been employed when Luther was ill at Schmalkald, pronounced him beyond all human help. It was one of the great moments of Luther's life. Appalled at the scene, he exclaimed: "O God, how has the devil injured this Thy instrument!" Then he went to the window and prayed. All the promises of the Holy Scriptures concerning answers to prayer that he could recall were repeated and woven into the prayer. This done, he turned to the bed, and grasped his friend by the hand with the words: "Be of good cheer, Philip, thou shalt not die! Although God might justly slay thee, yet he wills not the death of the sinner." Regaining consciousness, the sick man asked that he should not be detained, but Luther assured him that there was still much for which the Lord needed him. When food was ordered it was at first refused. But a stronger will prevailed when he was told: "Philip, you must eat, or I will excommunicate you." "The prayer of the Church," said Luther afterwards, "works great miracles. Three persons in our day it has raised from the dead, viz., me, who have often been mortally sick, my wife, Katie, and Philip Melanchthon, who lay sick unto death at Weimar in 1540."[1] Melanchthon himself testified: "If he had not come, I should certainly have died."

But the trouble occasioned by the unfortunate procedure was not over with Melanchthon's recovery. It shook the confidence of their associates

[1] Erlangen, 59: 3; *cf. ib.*, 25.

in the judgment of the chief reformers. It became the subject of acrimonious correspondence, with charges and countercharges. It deprived them of the unity and enthusiasm with which they should have encountered their enemies. "It is highly probable," says Kolde, "that the beginning of the decline of Protestantism as a political power coincides with this marriage transaction of the Prince of Hesse."

22

CHARLES V. AND FERDINAND.

CHAPTER XIII

DIET OF RATISBON; CONTROVERSIES WITH THE JURISTS, EMPEROR, AND POPE

THE Frankfort truce about to end, all eyes were turned towards Hagenau, where another conference was to be held. Because of Melanchthon's disablement, Luther remained at Eisenach, within easy reach. The result was a reference of the questions involved to a Diet to be held at Worms. This diet, which met in January, 1541, promised important gains for the Protestant side. The Electors of Brandenburg and the Palatinate had been added to their ranks. The Electoral Archbishop of Cologne was preparing to take a similar step, while his colleague of Treves could not be regarded as an enemy of the evangelical faith. Eleven men had been selected on each side as the commission to decide theological questions. The change of the religion of their rulers transferred three from the Catholic to the evangelical camp. But the deliberations had

DUKE MORITZ OF SAXONY.

FROM A PAINTING BY CRANACH THE YOUNGER.

only fairly begun when they were postponed to another diet to be held at Ratisbon (Regensburg). In the proceedings of this body a conciliatory spirit prevailed that framed a basis of union by the adoption of a formula that seemed to approach most nearly the Lutheran position on justification, and was yet susceptible of the opposite interpretation. Towards this result two men particularly co-operated, viz., Gropper, the theologian of the Archbishop of Cologne, who was inclined to the evangelicals, and Martin Bucer, the mouthpiece of the Landgrave, whose fears rendered him favourable to compromises with Rome which contrast strangely with his earlier radical tendencies. The imminent danger from the Turks made the Emperor anxious for a peaceable solution of the difficulties.

The decision reached concerning justification was "that the sinner is justified by living and efficacious faith." Freely acknowledging and commending the good intention of its composers, Luther warned against such a deceptive compromise, especially when unaccompanied by any repudiation of the errors hitherto current.[1] To win Luther's support a special commission was sent with the Prince of Anhalt at its head, by whose arguments they hoped to remove his scruples. They were successful in obtaining from him a qualified endorsement. In case no restriction was placed on the preaching with respect to the articles agreed upon, he was ready to approve them, trusting that, with this much gained, the concession of what still remained must follow.

[1] De Wette, 5 : 353 *sqq.*, 363 *sqq.*, 369 *sqq.*

But the Emperor could promise nothing more than a reference of the question to a future council for its decision. The entire project was wrecked upon the doctrines of the Church and the sacraments, on which agreement was impossible.

During the absence of the Archbishop of Mayence at Ratisbon, measures were taken for the introduction of the Reformation into Halle, and Justus Jonas, under the protection of the Elector, was appointed to superintend the work. The protests of the Archbishop, although most emphatic, were of no avail. In Naumburg, where the people sympathised with the Reformation, the death of the bishop in 1541 was followed by the accession of Julius von Pflug, a prominent moderate Catholic, as his successor. He was elected by the chapter of the cathedral, the majority of whom were opposed to the Reformation. Against the protests of the Emperor and of the Wittenberg theologians, who earnestly questioned his authority to take so radical a step, the Elector set aside the election and appointed as bishop, Nicholas von Amsdorf, a warm friend of Luther and a man of aggressive character, although of narrow spirit. In the presence of the Elector and his brother, this Lutheran bishop was consecrated by Luther, January 20, 1542, as the consecrator reported, "without all chrism, also without butter, lard, pork, tar, grease, incense, and coals."[1] The people, as a part of the service, were asked whether his selection met their approval, and declared their

[1] In a treatise: *Proper Way to Consecrate a True Christian Bishop*, 1542. Erlangen, 26: 76–108.

assent by an affirmation so emphatic that the Elector was surprised as well as gratified. The ancient hymn, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, with the Latin collect, was chanted by Luther, who then, with the other clergymen present, laid hands upon the head of Amsdorf. The *Te Deum* was sung, and the new bishop, seated on his throne, received the congratulations of the princes and other prominent persons present.

But now a critical danger threatened the peace of Saxony. After a very brief term of service as ruler of Albertine Saxony, Duke Henry had died, and had been succeeded by his son Maurice. The antagonism between him and his relative the Elector was soon manifest, and threatened to break out into open war because of a dispute concerning their rights to the little town of Wurzen. In a sharp letter of April 7, 1542,[1] Luther interposed, admonishing the princes of the consequences of their quarrel, and telling them in the plainest terms that sensible people would regard war about such an insignificant place as Wurzen upon an equality with the fight of two drunken peasants at a country inn over a broken beer-glass, or of two fools about a piece of bread. "The devil will say: 'Look there! Those are the evangelical princes who want to show the world the way to Heaven, and yet they have become such fools that they do not know how, with reason and justice, to settle even the most trifling matters!'"[2] By the mediation of the Landgrave, however, the difficulty was adjusted.

In 1541 Duke Henry of Brunswick, a bitter foe

[1] De Wette, 5 : 456 *sqq.* [2] *Ib.*, 458.

of the Reformation, published a virulent attack upon the Protestant princes. Luther received most unfavourable notice, and was charged with having called his own prince "Hans Wurst," *i. e.*, "Jack Sausage." Luther retorted in a book bearing the title of this nickname,[1] in which he turned it upon the Duke, and handled him without mercy. The Duke having broken the peace by seizing the town of Goslar, the Elector and Landgrave drove him from his country. Thus Brunswick also was opened to the Reformation.

Bucer and Melanchthon, at the request of Hermann von Wied, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, having prepared a Church Constitution for the reformation of the Church in his domains, the statements in it with respect to the Lord's Supper proved particularly offensive to Luther, and almost occasioned a rupture between the two friends.[2] An unpleasant difference separated Luther also from his early friend and colleague, Dr. Jerome Schurf. The latter, while always a zealous friend of Luther's doctrine, retained at the same time a profound respect for the Canonical Law, which Luther treated with contempt. In 1529 this led to a disagreement on the subject of secret betrothals. Schurf also taught that it is unlawful for pastors to marry after

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[1] Erlangen, 26: 1 *sqq.*

[2] Details with references in Koestlin's *Luther's Theology* (English translation), ii., 185 *sqq.* See De Wette, 5: 708 *sqq.* On "Reformation of Cologne," see Varrentrapp, *Hermann von Wied*, Leipzig, 1878; Drouven, *Reformation in Koeln-Provinz*, Cologne, 1876; *Lutheran Church Review*, xi., 301 *sqq.*

CONRAD WIMPINA. ANDREAS MUSCULUS.
JOHANN AGRICOLA. HIERONYMUS SCHURF.

FROM ENGRAVING IN KREUSSLER'S "ANDENKEN IN MÜNZEN."

the death of a first wife, and that one so doing disqualified himself for the performance of any ministerial act. Against this view Luther protested and wrote. Some years later, Kling, a colleague of Schurf, and known to be in sympathy with him, raised the question of the legitimacy of the children born of such marriages. Another difficulty the jurists raised was as to the validity of sacraments administered by those not ordained by bishops in the regular external succession. Schurf would not commune at Wittenberg, but sought the Lord's Supper from evangelical clergymen with whose attitude towards the succession he was satisfied. In 1537 there were sharp conflicts between them. Two years later Luther took the matter into the pulpit and preached against the jurists. Relief from the public discussion of these questions was found by the establishment of consistories. But the subject of secret betrothals became a burning question again in 1544. Luther felt that the good name of the University was at stake. The boldness of the young women of Wittenberg in inveigling the students into marriage engagements had become a scandal. He complains that they took every occasion to throw themselves in the way of the young men, even visiting them in their rooms. Parents began to withdraw their sons from the University rather than have them entrapped. Melanchthon's son, and a member of Luther's family, probably one of his nephews, living as a student in his house, were among the victims. Regarding the secret betrothal as "a Papistical affair and an institution of the

devil," he attacked it most vigorously in several sermons. "I cast thee, secret vow, into hell, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" The jurists he attacked bitterly, and explained his severity by saying: "I am angry and will be; for they are assuming to themselves the power of God." He carried his point, both by securing the Elector's veto of the validity of the engagement of a student whom the jurists had decided bound by such secret betrothal, and also in the negotiations with the jurists themselves in 1545, in which they agreed that all betrothals made without the knowledge and consent of parents are null and void, until they have such approval, or until the consistory have decided whether the opposition of parents have just and sufficient grounds.[1] But complete as was his victory, his heart bled over the separation of friends which was the price of the battle.

Never relieved of his sense of responsibility as a preacher of all the counsel of God, he was distressed by a growing laxness of morals that he noticed particularly at Wittenberg, but also at other places where the Reformation had triumphed. Licentiousness protected or even connived at by law, he regarded as a sin against which he could not sufficiently warn. Coarse indeed were the words in which he warned the Wittenberg students against the disreputable women who had come thither, but they were sharp and effective, a desperate remedy for a desperate disease.[2] His complaints are grossly per-

[1] On secret betrothals, De Wette, 5 : 615 *sqq.*, 626, 669, 676; *C. R.*, 5 : 586 *sqq.*

[2] De Wette, 5 : 560 *sqq.*

verted when they are construed as meaning that the vices arraigned are the fruits of the evangelical preaching. He recognises explicitly the improvement over the condition of things under the Papacy; but he was disappointed because, with the clear light of the Gospel before them, a much higher standard had not been reached.[1]

Among all his severe denunciations none were more bitter than those in his later years against the Jews, for whose conversion to Christianity he had once hoped, but for whom, at last, especially after some proselytes had been made from Christianity, he entertained no hope, but consigned them to God's judgment. This is seen in its most marked form in the treatise, *Of the Jews and their Lies*, of 1542.[2]

The results of the Diet of Spires in June, 1544, were favourable to the Reformers, whose demands for a continuance of peace were conceded until a new Diet or General Council. The Protestants, in turn, incensed at the persecution of their brethren in France and the French alliance with the Turks, pledged their assistance in the war against Francis, who was forced to the Peace of Crespy, September 18, 1544, both Emperor and King agreeing to unite in efforts to restore the peace of the Church.

The Pope, indignant at the decision of the Diet of Spires, gave expression to his wrath in a most severe reprimand addressed to the Emperor, at the same time summoning the Council of Trent to meet March 15, 1545. In one of the two letters to Charles, the Pope informs him that, by his approval of the

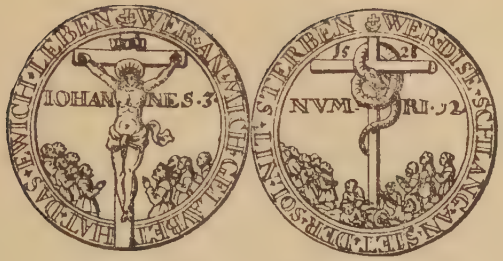
[1] De Wette, 6: 302.

[2] Erlangen, 32: 99 *sqq.*

action of Spires, he has endangered the salvation of his soul, charges him with the sin of assuming to judge in regard to matters of faith, a right which belongs only to the Pope, and of allowing heretics the same privilege, and warns him of the sad end of all who have undertaken to assume for themselves the prerogatives of priests. The Emperor was silent under the reprimand, but the Elector's urgent request induced Luther to review the letter. His review bears the caustic title, *Against the Papacy at Rome, Instituted by the Devil.*[1] It was Luther's last book against the Papacy, and summarises all that he had previously written. The book was written while he was suffering unintermitting pains in his head, and, with its abundant epithets, instead of promoting, possibly prejudiced the appreciation of the argument. Scarcely had it been published before an Italian pamphlet came to hand professing to give an account of Luther's death. The pamphlet related that he had died shortly after receiving the sacrament, and that his body was placed on the altar for adoration. After his burial there was a terrific storm, and the communion-wafer was seen suspended in the air. The next night there was a great noise at his grave, which was found empty, and so pervaded by stifling sulphurous fumes that no one could approach. Luther's answer was to republish it with some remarks,[2] stating that it might be regarded as a joke, if it were not sacrilegious.

[1] Erlangen, 26: 108 *sqq.*

[2] *Ib.*, 32: 423 *sqq.*



THE CENTRE OF LUTHER'S THEOLOGY.

CHAPTER XIV

LUTHER'S THEOLOGY

BEFORE recounting the closing scenes of Luther's life a survey may be made of his matured theological teaching. The very words in which he presented his convictions will be used so far as possible. His graduaĭ development as a theologian as well as a religious leader has been traced. In estimating any theological statement of a constantly growing student it is of the highest importance to determine the era to which it belongs and the circumstances under which it was uttered. Rarely in his controversies does he have any other opponents or critics in view than those with whom he is then dealing. He writes without regard to posterity, or to those who would be ready to apply his language to relations entirely different. Hence he rarely pauses to modify or qualify. For the decision then made he feels himself responsible, while he throws the responsibility for the use or the abuse of what

he says upon those who choose to assume it. Nothing is easier, therefore, than to quote the very words of Luther, and at the same time entirely pervert his meaning. Like every thinker who pursues an independent course, and whose opinions gradually mature, inconsistencies and vacillations upon the surface occur in connection with a growth which is nevertheless inwardly consistent. With the completion of the translation of the New Testament his theological conclusions reach a relatively fixed form, although it must be remembered that until the very last he continued to learn both from the Holy Scriptures and from his experience, and was always slow in forming his opinions, and until constrained by the force of overwhelming evidence, reserved in expressing them.

The relative place and emphasis of each doctrine in the system of a great teacher are as important as are the statements of doctrine themselves. Luther's theology springs not directly and entirely from the Holy Scriptures, but from the effort to state correctly the truths of the Christian life as they are tested at every stage by the infallible standard of the Scriptures. They are not the sources of his Christian experience, but the goal to which this experience led and the spring whence it drew nourishment. His theology is an answer to the one question: "What is meant by faith in Christ?" Its centre is Christology. Its great aim is to unfold the meaning of redemption, and to show how redemption is applied. "There is but one article and rule in all theology. He who does not have this at

heart and observe it well is no theologian. This rule is true faith and trust in Christ. Into this article all the rest coalesce, and without it the others do not exist."[1] "In my heart there dominates but this one article, viz., faith in my Lord Christ, Who is the sole beginning, middle, and end of all my spiritual and divine thoughts that I have day or night."[2] Upon this principle he makes Scripture and experience the two tests of doctrine.

"We have both, viz., the certain testimony of Scripture, and also experience. These are to be regarded as the two witnesses and touch-stones of sound doctrine. He who will not believe these two, or seeks another, cannot complain if he be led astray. Thank God, I can preach from my experience that no work can help or console me against sin and the judgment of God, but that Christ alone pacifies and consoles the heart and conscience. To this all Scripture bears witness, as well as the examples of many godly men."[3]

Thus driven to the Holy Scriptures by the necessities of the Christian life, he makes no effort to construct a symmetrical system, or to present an exhaustive summary of their contents, but only attempts to draw from them answers to the questions which from time to time he was called upon to give. The books of the Bible, therefore, that are particularly occupied with the explanation of the manner in which sinful man is restored to God's favour, had to him a significance and value that he could not

[1] *Table-Talk*, Erlangen, 58 : 398.

[2] Preface to Galatians (1535), *Com. Gal.*, 1 : 3.

[3] On 1 Cor. xv. (1534), Erlangen, 51 : 103.

attach to the rest. The very centre of Holy Scripture he finds in the epistles of St. Paul, particularly those to the Romans and Galatians, and assigns the first rank among the Gospels to that of St. John, regarding the doctrine of these books the key to the interpretation of all the rest. His free language concerning the Epistle of St. James, in the form in which it is generally quoted, omits the contrast which he makes with what he regards as the chief books of the New Testament. His words are:

"The Gospel of St. John and his First Epistle, the epistles of St. Paul, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, and the First Epistle of St. Peter, are the books that instruct us concerning Christ and teach us all that it is necessary and salutary for us to know, even though you should never see or hear another book. *In comparison with these*, therefore, the Epistle of St. James is actually nothing but an epistle of straw, for it has in it nothing whatever of the Gospel."[1]

His thought is this: If James be arrayed against Paul, and the doctrine of works be made the standard to which the doctrine of faith must be conformed, then, however useful in its proper sphere, the Epistle of James becomes one of straw. He interpreted the Old Testament by the New; the Law by the Gospel. A single word of the Gospel was to him the end of all controversy.

This same practical method of interpreting Holy Scripture solely by its Christological and soteriological teaching renders him relatively indifferent to

[1] Introduction to New Testament (1522), Erlangen, 63: 115. *Cf.* On 1 Peter i., 3, Erlangen, 51: 337.

the question of the accuracy, or even the correctness, of the details of chronology, geography, and topography, pertaining to the human, rather than to the divine side of Scripture, and forming the human background for the statement of the truths of revelation, rather than the revelation itself. Referring to one such chronological problem he says:

"If a controversy occur as to matters in the Holy Scriptures and it cannot be harmonised, let it go. This is not in conflict with the articles of the Christian Faith. For all evangelists agree in testifying to the fact that Christ died for our sins; but with respect to His deeds and miracles they observe no order." [1]

He recognises a direct contradiction between the accounts of the synoptists and John concerning the number of times Peter denied Christ in the house of Caiaphas, and decides against his favourite evangelist, John. "One will go neither to Heaven nor Hell for holding that all three denials occurred in the house of Caiaphas. The reconciliation of these passages I commend to acute reasoners." [2] Stephen, he declares, made a small historical blunder in his address before his martyrdom, since his mind was intent upon the main argument he was urging, the force of which was in no way affected by his trifling mistake.[3] But at the same time he enters his protest against the abuse of critical methods. "It is absurd to imitate those bold spirits who, whenever such a difficulty occurs, cry out at once that a man-

[1] On John ii., 13–15 (1537–38), Erlangen, 46: 172.

[2] On John xviii., 15 *sqq.* (1528–29), Erlangen, 50: 308 *sqq.*, 375.

[3] On Gen. xii., 4 (1545), *Op. ex.*, 3: 121.

ifest error has been committed, and presume to revise the books of other men." [1]

But with respect to all matters of faith, as at Marburg, he put his finger upon the unerring word of God recorded in the Scriptures, firm in his resolution not to depart a hair's-breadth therefrom.

"God's word is God's word; that needs no long discussion. He that charges God with falsehood, or blasphemes Him in respect to one word, or says that it is a matter of little importance that He be blasphemed and charged with falsehood, blasphemes all of God, and makes light of all blasphemy of God." [2]

He cuts loose, therefore, from the scholastics in his treatment of the doctrine concerning God. Christology is the key to all knowledge concerning the nature and attributes of God and the doctrine of the Trinity. His method is not to treat theology "from above downwards," but from "beneath upwards." He does not begin with the idea of God, His decrees, etc., and then infer the other articles of faith, but he begins with the revelation of God in Christ. "We must not investigate concerning the Divine Majesty, but must tie our wandering and soaring thoughts to the Word. He who attempts to speculate concerning the clouds falls into an abyss." [3] "We must not investigate as to what His Divine Nature is, but learn only to recognise His Will, as He offers it to us in Christ." [4] "All

[1] On Gen. xi., 27 *sqq.*, *Op. ex.*, 3: 71.

[2] *That these words of Christ stand fast* (1527), Erlangen, 30: 28.

[3] On Is. xxxviii., 11 (1534), Walch, vi., 738.

[4] On Gal. i., 3 (1535), *Com. Gal.*, 1: 50.

thoughts and speculations concerning the Divine majesty and glory I dismiss, and cleave alone to the humanity of Christ. From this proceed such light and knowledge, that I can know what God is, what all creatures are, and what all villainy in the kingdom of the devil is."[1] Firmly holding to the doctrine of the Trinity, he accepts, but regrets the necessity for, the technical terms in which the Nicene theology has stated it. The main thought with him lies in the coequal and coeternal divinity of the Son with the Father.

A consistent Augustinian, nothing is more pronounced in all his teaching than his presentation of the doctrine of Original Sin. It is not the act of Adam that he makes most prominent, but the natural depravity which is its consequence.

"It is so deep and horrible a corruption of nature that no reason can comprehend it, but it must be believed upon authority of the revelation in the Scriptures."[2] "It is the chief sin; if it were not, there would be no actual sin. This sin is not, like all other sins, committed; but it is. It lives, and commits all sins, and is the essential sin, which exists not for an hour or for any period; but as long as the person lives there also is sin. This natural sin God alone sees. It can be restrained by no law or punishment, even though there were a thousand hells; only the grace of God can purify and renew the nature."[3]

[1] On Gal. i., 4, *Com. Gal.*, 1: 64. *Cf.* On Gen. vi., 6 (*Op. ex.*, 2: 170): "All questions leading to the throne of pure Divinity I avoid. It is better and safer to stand by the manger of Christ, the man." [2] *Schmalkald Articles* (1537), Erlangen, 25: 126.

[3] On New Year's Day, Erlangen, 10: 322.

It is the heritage of "all who are or shall be born into the world, Christ alone excepted." Commenting on Psalm LI., he interprets David's language as meaning:

"I am a sinner, not because I committed adultery and murder, and caused the death of Uriah, but I committed adultery and murder, because I was born a sinner, aye, conceived and formed in the womb as such. So we too are sinners, not because we plot this or that sin; but such things are devised by us, because we are first sinners, *i. e.*, just as corrupt trees and corrupt seed produce corrupt fruit, and from a bad root nothing but a bad tree can grow." "He confesses that he was corrupt by his own fault, and not only by that of his parents, while he was still an embryo in the womb.[1]"

So important is the clear conception of this doctrine to him that he declares that his opponents were unable to teach correctly concerning repentance, "because they do not hold aright concerning Original Sin."[2]

Man, therefore, without the grace of God, is in spiritual things entirely helpless; by his own powers he can neither put forth any effort to return to God, nor even respond when God's grace approaches him. In the simplest and most popular form, he says in his Catechism: "I believe that I cannot, by my own reason or strength, believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to Him"; and in the *Schmalkald Articles:*

"They do not hold aright concerning Original Sin,

[1] *Enarratio in Ps. LI.* (1532), *Op. ex.*, 69 *sqq.*

[2] *Schmalkald Articles* (1537), Erlangen, 25 : 129.

because they say that the natural powers of man have remained entire and incorrupt, and that the reason can teach, and the heart do what is taught, and that God grants His grace when man acts, so far as he is able, according to his free will." [1]

It was with respect to man's return to God, and not with respect to the works of outward morality, that he declared that "free will is a title without a corresponding thing, or a thing with nothing but the title." [2] "Man, without the Holy Spirit, can do nothing but sin; and he proceeds from sin to sin." [3]

Luther's doctrine of Predestination is not the centre of his system, but only a corollary to his doctrine of the bondage of the will, and the utter helplessness of man without the grace of God. It appears in its most absolute form in his treatise, *De Servo Arbitrio*, and was never recalled; but in after years was constantly kept in the background, as, in fact, it was also previously, except when some exaggeration of human freedom provoked the most complete denial of all human agency in man's return to God.

"By this predestination," he says in his *Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans*, "that we are godly is taken altogether out of our own, and is placed in God's hands. This is also most highly necessary. For we are so weak and uncertain that if it depended upon us, no man what-

[1] *Schmalkald Articles* (1537), Erlangen, 25 : 129.

[2] *Assertio Omnium Articulorum*, No. 365, *Op. varii argumenti*, Erlangen, 5 : 225 *sq.*

[3] On Gen. vi., 5 (1544), *Op. ex.*, 2 : 164.

ever would be saved." "A limit must be set to those ambitious spirits who bring hither their reason and begin from above to investigate the abyss of God's predestination, and in vain torment themselves with the question whether they be of the elect or not. But follow thou the order of this epistle, and concern thyself with Christ and the Gospel, that thou mayest recognise thy sins and His grace; then fight with sins, as Chapters I.–VIII. have taught. After that, when thou hast come to the eighth chapter, and art under the cross and suffering, thou wilt learn right well in Chapters IX.–XI. how comforting predestination is. For unless one have experienced suffering, the cross, and the sorrows of death, he cannot meddle with predestination without injury and secret wrath against God. Adam, therefore, must be well killed ere thou canst bear this and drink such strong wine. See to it then that thou drink not wine while thou art still a suckling. Every doctrine has its measure, time, and age."[1]

The lesson learned, while in spiritual distress in the monastery, to find the solution of all the problems concerning predestination in the wounds of Jesus, was never forgotten.

"Christ," he says, "is the golden book, in which the will of the Father stands before our eyes." "Christ is the Book of Life, wherein thou art written; he who hears Him and is baptised, is written in the Book of Life." "God has adapted himself to our curiosity. 'I will show you My will and purpose,' He says, 'but this I will not do in the way of carnal wisdom, as you imagine. This I will do: Instead of an unrevealed, I will become

[1] Anno 1522, Erlangen, 63: 119 *sqq.*

a revealed God; and, nevertheless, I will remain the same God. I will become incarnate, or will send My Son; He will die for your sins, and will rise again from the dead. Thus I will satisfy your desire to know whether or not you are predestinated. Behold My Son; hear Him (Matt. xvii., 5). See Him lying in the manger, in the lap of His mother, and hanging on the cross! Note what He does and what He says! In so doing you apprehend Me. For he that seeth Me, says Christ (John xiv., 9), seeth also the Father Himself. If you hear Him, and are baptised in His name, and love His word, you are assuredly predestinated, and are sure of your salvation.'" [1]

The incarnation, he teaches, presupposes man's sin. "This is the cause of His incarnation. If God had not become man, He could not have suffered, or died. For God is a Spirit, who cannot suffer or die. If God, then, is to suffer and die, He must become man." [2] All that is done and suffered by the Son of God, in His human nature, is done and suffered by the Divine Person Himself.

"If it were not true that God suffered and died for us, and if man alone had died for us, then we would be altogether lost. . . . For God could not die in His own nature, but since God and man are united in one Person, it is truly said: 'God died,' viz., when that man dies with whom God is one Person." [3] "There are not two Jesuses, one of whom alone came from the Father, and the other was born of the Virgin Mary; but there is

[1] *On Raising of Lazarus* (1518), Erlangen, 18: 207.

[2] On Ex. iii. (1524), Erlangen, 35: 91.

[3] *Of the Councils and the Church* (1539), Erlangen, 25: 312.

only one Jesus. The ancient Fathers, therefore, have declared that the attributes of both natures are ascribed to the entire Person of Christ in the concrete, and that there is a communion or participation, where the attribute of one nature is communicated to the other. For each nature has its own characteristics; as it is an attribute of the human to be born of the Virgin Mary, and the divine has other attributes. But since the persons are not to be separated, there is a communication, so that we can say: 'The child Jesus, Who lies in the cradle, has created Heaven and earth,' and 'The Son of God, Who, from eternity, is, with the Father, God, hangs on the breast of His mother, is crucified, and dies.' . . . Hence, when the prayer is made: 'Thou Son of David,' or 'Thou Son of Mary, have mercy upon me,' it is the same as: 'O Jesus, Thou Son of God, have mercy upon me'; for the two natures are in the one Christ." [1]

It is entirely to the humanity of Christ that the humiliation of Christ is ascribed; "for a divine nature cannot be humbled or exalted." "The form of God," in Phil. ii., 5, he argues cannot be the divine nature, but means, where one claims to be God, and asserts this claim by external acts, as Christ did by His miracles and words; while "the form of a servant" is where one conducts himself towards others as a servant. His humiliation consists, then, in the fact, not

"that He had laid aside or could lay aside His divinity, but only the form of His divine majesty, and did not assert Himself to be God, as He truly is. Nevertheless His laying aside of the divine form was not in such wise

[1] On John iii., 16 (1538), Erlangen, 46 : 365.

that this could not be seen or felt, for then no divine form would remain, but only that He did not avail Himself of it, or dazzle us with it, but, on the contrary, served us therewith; for He wrought miracles even in His passion, and on the cross, when, as God, He gave Paradise to the thief, and in the garden, with one word prostrated the band of soldiers." [1]

While giving prominence to the office of Christ as a Prophet, the Revealer of the Father's will, without Whose word we can know nothing of God aright, and Whose authority as a teacher, when contrasted with that of popes and councils, is supreme and final, he constantly shows that the goal of the Prophetic is the Priestly office. The centre of Christology is expressed in the words of his Catechism: "Who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, secured and delivered me from all my sins, not with silver and gold, but with His holy and precious blood, and with His innocent suffering and death." "All that our Lord suffered, He suffered for us, and God laid on Him such sufferings, and would not remove them, although He was innocent, in order that we might thereby be freed from sin, and be reconciled with God." [2]

"As to His own person, Christ is innocent and should not be hung upon a tree; but, since according to the law, every robber should be hung, this, according to the law of Moses, should be done to Christ, because He sustained the person of a sinner and robber, and that, too, not of one, but of all sinners and robbers. . . .

[1] On Epistle for Palm Sunday, Erlangen [2], 8: 168.

[2] On Fourth Sunday in Advent (1534), Erlangen[2], 2: 92.

The Merciful Father, seeing that we were laden with the curse of the law, and so bound by it, that, of our own strength, we could not be freed, sent His Only-Begotten Son into the world, and laid upon Him the sins of us all, saying: 'Thou art Peter, Paul, David, the sinner who ate the fruit in Paradise, the robber on the cross, in a word, Thou art the person who committed the sins of all men.'"[1]

But the vicarious work of Christ is not limited to His subjection to the law, and His suffering the penalties for sin. "Every work, which God does in Christ, is done for me, aye, is presented and given me, so that His resurrection causes me to rise again, and quickens me with Him."[2] Hence "the words: 'CHRIST HAS RISEN' should be written with the very largest letters in the heart, so that faith may see, hear, think, and know of no other article." "Know, then, sin, death, and the devil, that I am not terrified by you; for Christ, my dear Lord, has presented me with His triumph and victory."[3] All sins being comprised within the compass of Christ's vicarious satisfaction, man has no longer any satisfaction to render.

"If the law, then, come and accuse thee, for not having observed it, point to Christ, and say: 'There is the man who has done all; upon Him I depend. He has fulfilled it for me and presented me with His fufilment'; and it will be silent. If sin come to slay thee, point again to Christ and say: 'Whatever you can effect

[1] On Gal. iii., 13, *Com. Gal.* (1535), 2 : 15, 19.
[2] Sermon on Easter (1521), Erlangen [2], 11 : 214.
[3] Easter Sermon (Coburg, 1530), 18 : 95.

with Him you will effect with me; for I am in Him and He is in me.' If death come to devour thee, say to it: 'Well, death, don't you know that man there? Go, bite Him for me; He once made your bite sour enough for you. But if you want anything more, provoke Him again. . . . To that man I belong; I am His and He is mine, and wherever He abides there also do I.' If the devil come to gain a share in thee, and hell want to devour thee, only point to Christ; and they will be still. See, therefore, what we have in Christ, viz., the man, who is given us of God, who is to extinguish sin, crush death, burst Hell, and take the devil captive; all of which is for our profit."[1]

This righteousness of Christ becomes ours only by faith. The expressions "by faith alone," and "by faith alone, without works," are the watchwords of Luther's theology, often designated by unfriendly critics as "solifidianism." By these statements he means only to declare that man is justified before God, *i. e.*, forgiven and accounted righteous, only by the work and merit of Christ, and that these merits are applied and appropriated only through faith.

"No one but Jesus Christ has died for our sins; but if He be the only one who takes away our sins, we cannot do this by our works; so if it is impossible for me to apprehend and receive such a sole and only Redeemer otherwise than by faith, He cannot be apprehended by works. But since faith embraces such a Redeemer prior to works, which follow, it must be true that faith, before and without works, embraces Him; and this is equivalent

[1] Sermon on St. Thomas's Day, Erlangen², 15 : 63.

to being justified. But after such faith, good works follow as the fruits of faith." [1] "By faith alone in Christ, and not by the works of the law, or love, are we declared righteous; not that we reject works and love, as the adversaries accuse us, but that we do not allow ourselves to be diverted from the state of the present case." [2] "Faith brings with it a band of most beautiful virtues, nor is it ever alone; but, on this account, different things are not to be confused, and what belongs to faith alone to be ascribed to the rest. Faith is the mother, whence these virtues, as children, are born. Unless faith had first embraced the promises concerning Christ, the other virtues would not be present." [3] "Just as the consecration of churches and confirmation and other official acts do not make one who has been consecrated to the episcopate a bishop, but if he have not been first consecrated the works would be invalid and foolish; so a Christian who has been consecrated by faith is made no better a Christian by the works which he does —for only an increase of faith can accomplish that—and if he have not believed, all his works are nothing but foolish and condemnable sins. Hence these two sayings are correct: 'Good and godly works never make a good and godly man; but a good and godly man does good works.' 'Evil deeds never make a bad man; but a bad man commits evil deeds.' The person must always be good and godly, before there are good works, and good works follow and proceed from a godly and good person. The trees grow not upon the fruits, but the fruits upon the trees." [4]

[1] Gloss on Imperial Edict (1531), Erlangen, 25 : 76.

[2] *Commentary on Galatians* (1535).

[3] On Gen. xv. (1545), *Op. ex.*, 3 : 305.

[4] *On the Freedom of a Christian* (1520), Erlangen, 27 : 191.

But faith is neither, as Luther has sometimes been charged with teaching, a mere emotion, nor the mere acceptance of certain doctrines; to him it is a life-principle. "Faith is not man's opinion and dream, which some take to be faith."[1] He speaks of some who

"when they hear the Gospel, immediately devise, from their own powers, the imagination in their hearts, to which they give expression in the words: 'I believe.' This they regard as right faith. Nevertheless, it is nothing but man's thought and imagination, which is never experienced at heart; hence it accomplishes nothing, and no amendment follows."[2] "Often one who imagines he believes, does not believe at all; and, on the other hand, one who imagines that he does not believe, but doubts, believes most of all. This passage (Mark xvi., 16) does not say: 'He who knows that he believes,' or 'when he knows that he believes', but: 'He that believeth shall be saved.'"[3] "Faith is a divine work in us, which transforms us." "Faith is a living, wide-awake confidence in God's grace, that is so certain that one who has it is ready to die a thousand times for it."[4]

Nevertheless it justifies, not because it is so excellent a work, but solely because of the object which it apprehends. "I am accustomed," he says, "to conceive this idea, that there is no quality in my heart at all, call it either faith or charity; but, instead of these, I set Christ Himself, and say: 'There is my righteousness.'"[5] Such faith

[1] Introduction to Romans (1522), Erlangen, 63 : 124. [2] *Ib.*
[3] *Ag. Anabaptists* (1528), Erlangen, 26 : 269.
[4] Introduction to Romans, Erlangen, 63 : 124.
[5] Correspondence with Brentz, De Wette, 4 : 271.

" makes us entirely different men in heart, mind, sense, and all powers, and brings with it the Holy Spirit. Oh, it is a living, active, busy thing that we have in faith! It is impossible for one who has faith to do otherwise than incessantly to do good. He asks not whether good works are to be done, but before such a question can be asked, he has done them, and is always busy. . . . As impossible is it to separate works from faith, as to separate heat and light from fire." [1]

Hence the paradox: " We are justified by faith alone, and yet it is never alone." The always present good works in no way merit the favour of God, and induce Him to forgive our sins and pronounce us righteous, but are only the seals and fruits of that favour. " As the circumcision of Abraham was an external sign, whereby he proved his righteousness by faith, so all good works are only outward signs, which, as good fruits, follow faith, and prove that man is already justified before God." [2] " Of this article, nothing can be yielded or surrendered, even though heaven and earth and all things should sink to ruin." [3]

The definition of " a good work " was also revised, and limited to works done according to the directions of the Ten Commandments, and not merely according to any self-imposed or human prescriptions. A divine call and appointment must lie at the root of every good work.[4]

[1] Introduction to Romans, Erlangen, 63 : 125.

[2] *Ib.*, Erlangen, 63 : 129.

[3] *Schmalkald Articles*, Erlangen, 25 : 115.

[4] Gloss on Imperial Edict (1531), Erlangen, 25 : 85.

Faith, however, comes not from the free will of man, or any human powers, but is the gift of God wrought within man by the Holy Spirit through the Word.

"God grants His Spirit or grace to no one except through or with the preceding outward Word." [1] "God wishes to deal with us in no other way than through the spoken Word and the sacraments; and whatever, without the Word and sacraments, is extolled as Spirit, is the devil himself." [2] "The Holy Spirit works inwardly in the heart. But such work He effects, in His ordinary and usual way, only through the oral word, as Paul says (Rom. x., 4). No one, therefore, desiring consolation, should wait until the Holy Spirit addresses him personally in His majesty. For His testimony He brings to us publicly in the preaching of the Word; there you must seek and await Him, until, by the word which you hear with your ears, He touches your heart, and so also, by His working, inwardly testifies, in your heart, to Christ." [3] "There is no other way or means of coming to faith, than hearing, learning, and meditating upon the Gospel." [4]

The Gospel being thus emphasised as that part of the Word that is used by the Spirit to work faith, the distinction between Law and Gospel and the Old and the New Testaments is drawn with great prominence.

"Without the Holy Spirit, it is impossible to observe

[1] *Schmalkald Articles*, Erlangen, 25 : 140.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] On Ascension Day (1532), Erlangen[2], 5 : 173.
[4] On John i., 7 (1537–38), Erlangen, 45 : 360.

this distinction. How difficult it is, I experience in myself and observe daily in others. By the Law, nothing else is meant than God's word and command, wherein He enjoins what we should do and leave undone, and demands our obedience. But the Gospel is that doctrine or word of God that neither requires works of us, nor enjoins the doing of anything, but announces only the offered grace of the forgiveness of sins and eternal life. The Gospel offers God's gifts, and bids us only open the sack to receive them, while the Law gives nothing, but only takes and demands of us. The Gospel consoles and says: 'Lo, Christ is thy treasure, thy present, thy Saviour, thy help.'" [1]

Paul's definition of the Gospel is said to be, that Christ died for our sins and rose again. "Nothing here is said as to what I must do, or leave undone, but only of what Christ has done." [2] Guarding carefully against Antinomian licence, and teaching the perpetual obligation of obedience to the Law, he warned particularly against the danger of regarding Christ as only a new Lawgiver, offering salvation upon easier terms than Moses, and the Gospel as "a book of laws and commands," instead of "a book of promises." [3] "The Gospel, properly, is not Scripture, but the oral word or living voice." [4]

This Gospel, or assurance of God's grace, comes in three forms, viz., the preaching of the Word,

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[1] Sermon on Distinction between the Law and the Gospel (1532), Erlangen, 19: 236 *sqq*.

[2] On 1 Cor. xv., 5–7 (1534), Erlangen, 51: 104.

[3] Introduction to Winter part of Church Postils, Erlangen², 7: 7, 9.

[4] On Fourth Sunday in Advent, Erlangen², 7: 12.

baptism, and the Lord's Supper. "The Holy Spirit sanctifies the Christian Church through the Word and sacraments, whereby He inwardly works faith and the knowledge of Christ. They are the instruments and means whereby He incessantly sanctifies and cleanses the Church."[1] What the preaching of the Word offers in a general way to all, that the sacraments offer to the individual to whom they are administered. Hence, as the Augsburg Confession teaches, "they were instituted not merely to be signs whereby Christians might externally recognise one another, but signs and testimonies of God's will towards us, to awaken and strengthen our faith."[2] They "are visible signs of grace, that we may be assured that our sins are removed by the sufferings of Christ, and that we are redeemed by His blood."[3] Not the element, nor even, in the Lord's Supper, the body and blood of Christ, but only the word of the Gospel accompanying them, assures of salvation and works faith.

"Water, without the word of God, is simply water, and not baptism; but, when connected with the word of God, it is a baptism, *i. e.*, a gracious water of life, and a washing of regeneration."[4] "The eating and drinking do not produce such great effects, but the words which stand here, viz., 'Given and shed for you, for the remission of sins.' These words, that accompany the bodily eating and drinking, are the chief things in the sacra-

[1] On John xiv., 26 (1538), Erlangen, 49: 220.
[2] Art. XIII.
[3] On Gen. iv., 3, *Op. ex.*, 1: 313–315.
[4] Small Catechism (1529).

ment, and he who believes these words, has that which they declare and set forth, viz., the remission of sins." [1] "Often have we said that the chief part in the sacrament, is the word of Christ, where He says: 'Take eat, this is My body, which is given for you,' etc. In these words, everything is found, that every Christian should know and maintain, and should not permit to be wrested from him by any other doctrine, even though it were that of an angel from heaven. They are words of life and salvation, so that to him who believes them, through such faith all sins are forgiven him, and he is a child of life, and has overcome hell and death. How great and mighty these words are, is inexpressible; for they are the sum of the entire Gospel. Far more stress, therefore, is to be laid upon these words than upon the sacrament itself; and a Christian should accustom himself to regard these words rather than the sacrament. Erroneous teachers, however, have perverted this everywhere, so that the Word is disparaged before the people, and this faith vanishes, and the sacrament is converted into a mere external work without faith. Where, then, you attach the less honour to the words than to the sacrament itself, it is a certain sign that you do not understand the sacrament aright." [2] "Although baptism is in itself a transcendent divine treasure, it is of no avail without faith. . . . By suffering the water to be poured upon you, you have not received baptism so that it becomes a blessing to you; but it will be a blessing if you have yourself baptised with the purpose, according to God's command and institution, and in God's name, to receive in the water the promised salvation. This the

[1] Small Catechism (1529).

[2] *Von Anbeten des Sacraments* (1523), Erlangen, 28: 390 *sq.*

hand cannot do, or the body, but the heart must believe it." [1]

Baptism being thus a covenant of God with an individual soul, is unalterable, so far as God is concerned. Man may entirely forfeit the blessing by repelling God's offers and casting away faith; but the blessing becomes his once more when he returns. Alluding to Jerome's declaration that penance is the second plank upon which one escapes when the ship of his baptism is wrecked, Luther says:

"The ship never breaks, because it is an institution of God, and not a matter of ours; but it happens that we slip and fall out of the ship. Yet, if any one so fall, let him see that he come again into it, and live therein." [2] "Just as, when a bride marries against her will, and without affection to her husband, while, before God, she is not the true wife of the man she marries, yet if, in two years, he win her love, you would not say that a new betrothal and marriage were necessary, upon the ground that the former betrothal and marriage were invalidated by her insincerity. So when an adult receives baptism insincerely, you would not advise him, a year later, when he becomes a believer, to be rebaptised!" [3]

The daily life of the Christian, therefore, is nothing more than the continual exercise and practice of that which has been given him in baptism.

"If you live in repentance you walk in baptism, which not only signifies such a new life, but produces, begins,

[1] Large Catechism (1529), Erlangen, 21: 134.

[2] *Ib.*, 141.

[3] Against the Anabaptists (1528), Erlangen, 26: 258–260.

and exercises it. . . . For this reason, let every one esteem his baptism as a daily dress, in which he shall constantly walk that he may suppress the old man and grow up in the new." [1]

All the efficacy of baptism is thus that of the Gospel, of which it is the pledge and seal.

"The word of the Gospel shows and reveals the Exalted and Crucified Christ, as the only Saviour and Mediator. Baptism is a sure sign and testimony accompanying the Word, whereby it is attested. . . . With this Word and baptism, the Holy Spirit is present with His power and gifts, enkindling faith, that, amid fear and terrors, man holds, with sure confidence, to the promise concerning Christ. If, then, through the Holy Spirit, one firmly believes that Christ, the Son of God, died for our sins on the cross, this imparts a new heart and a new sense, so that, through the Word, an entirely new man results." [2]

For infant baptism, he finds the strongest proof in the fact that the holy lives of so many baptised in infancy clearly show that the Holy Spirit has been given them.[3] Its end is stated in the words: "We bring the child in the purpose and hope that it may believe, and we pray that God may grant it faith; but we do not baptise it upon that faith, but solely upon the command of God." [4] He challenges proof

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[1] Large Catechism (1529), Erlangen, 21 : 141.
[2] On Trinity Sunday (1533), Erlangen[2], 5 : 251.
[3] Large Catechism, Erlangen, 21 : 136.
[4] *Ib.*, 137.

for the assertion that infants cannot believe, and argues at length to the contrary, citing numerous passages of Scripture, such as Luke i., 41; Matt. xix., 14.[1] The difficulty involved he meets thus:

"When God commands, says or does anything, put your hand upon your mouth, and fall upon your knees, and, without asking or saying anything more, do what He commands, hear what He says, and submit to whatever He says."[2] "If any one should deny that when an infant is baptised, he is given righteousness and salvation, and explain away the promise by declaring that it would be valid, and would work only when one would attain the use of reason, and, by working, attain what is offered in the promise; also, that baptism is not a sign of God's will to us, but only a mark to distinguish believers from unbelievers, etc., he absolutely denies salvation to baptism, and ascribes it to works."[3]

His numerous discussions concerning the Lord's Supper, narrated in the foregoing chapters, were marked by the constant reiteration of this same principle.

"What is more silly, reason suggests, than that in the Lord's Supper, under the bread and wine, the true body and blood of Christ should be eaten and drunk, for the forgiveness of sins? Of what help, says reason, is a bite of bread or a sip of wine? But, if reason is to judge concerning divine things, Abraham also might have

[1] Against the Anabaptists (1528), Erlangen, 26: 254–294.
[2] Sermon on Gospel for New Year (1531), Erlangen², 4: 181 *sqq.*
[3] On Gal. iii., 8, *Op. ex.*, 24: 348.

said: 'Hast Thou no other sign of the covenant between me and Thee than this foolish business of circumcision?'"[1]

Inflexible to the very end of his life in maintaining the real presence and the literal interpretation of the Words of Institution, he is just as pronounced in repudiating transubstantiation as a sophistical subtlety, without Scriptural foundation, and the source of much of the idolatry sanctioned by the Papacy. Consubstantiation, often ascribed to him, is without a word of approval in his writings. The body and blood of Christ, he is careful to teach, are present in the Lord's Supper in an entirely different way from the bread and wine. The bread and wine are received by the mouth in a natural, and the body and blood in a supernatural, manner. Whatever stress, however, is laid upon the real presence, is subordinate to the importance of the Word of which it is the pledge. The Catechism declares, therefore, that the chief thing in the sacrament is "not the bodily eating and drinking, but the words: 'Given and shed for you, for the remission of sins.'" "We hold," he says, "to both the bodily and the spiritual eating. The mouth eats the body of Christ bodily; but the heart apprehends the Word by faith, and eats it spiritually. For both heart and mouth eat, each in its own way; the heart cannot eat bodily, and the mouth cannot eat spiritually."[2] "In the Lord's Supper there is a spiritual eating, nevertheless only

[1] On Gospel for New Year, Erlangen[2], 4: 181.

[2] "That these words stand firm" (1527), Erlangen, 30: 93.

by believers; and, besides, a bodily eating common to believers and unbelievers." [1]

The sacramental presence is intended only to apply in all its force the promise of the Gospel, and thus to confirm and strengthen faith. Where this promise is not received the sacramental presence remains, but it brings judgment instead of blessing. "A just man shall live, not from the sacraments, but from faith. For not the sacraments, but faith at the sacrament, quickens and justifies. Where there is no faith, baptism is of no avail; for not baptism, but faith at baptism, saves." [2] In marked contrast with the mediæval theory, Luther taught that the sacraments were not rites, in which man brought something to God, but that they were institutions and acts of God, in which He offered and conferred the grace of the Gospel.

"In the Mass, we give nothing to Christ, but only receive from Him." [3] "The Mass is nothing but the divine promise or testament of Christ, commended by the sacrament of His body and blood." [4] "The worthy preparation and legitimate use of the Mass is nothing but faith, whereby the Mass, *i. e.*, the divine promise, is believed. Let him who comes to the altar beware of appearing empty before God. But he will be empty, if he have

[1] Explained at length in sermon on John vi., 55–58 (1524), Erlangen², 15 : 368 ; and in letter to Albert of Prussia (1532), Erlangen, 54 : 281 ; and De Wette, 4 : 349.

[2] Against the Bull of Antichrist (1520), Erlangen, 24 : 61.

[3] Sermon on the New Testament, *i. e.*, the Holy Mass (1520), Erlangen, 27 : 155.

[4] *Babylonian Captivity* (1520), Weimar, i., 520.

not faith in the Mass, *i. e.*, in this new testament. . . . The entire virtue of the Mass consists in the words of Christ, whereby He testifies that the remission of sins is given all who believe that the body of Christ was given and His blood shed for them. . . . For this reason nothing more is necessary for those who participate than to meditate earnestly and with full faith upon the words of the Mass." [1]

The blessings received by the communicant in the Lord's Supper cannot be communicated by him to others. "The Mass is not a work communicable to others; but it is presented each one individually for the nourishment and strengthening of his own faith." [2] "It can profit no one, be applied to no one, can aid no one, can be communicated to no one, unless he himself alone believe by his own faith." [3]

With the rejection of the sacrificial theory of the Mass, the sacerdotal idea of the ministry and the entire hierarchy vanish.

"Only one Priest do we have, viz., Christ who offered Himself for us all. This is a spiritual priesthood common to all Christians, whereby we are all priests with Christ, *i. e.*, we are all the children of Christ, the High Priest, and need no other priest or mediator. As every priest (Heb. v., 1) is set apart to pray for the people and preach, so every Christian, for himself, may pray in Christ and come to God (Rom. v., 2). . . . In the New Testament, the external priesthood is overthrown; for it makes prayer, access to God, and teaching common

[1] *Babylonian Captivity* (1520), Weimar, i., 517. [2] *Ib.*, 523.
[3] *Ib.*, 521.

to all men." [1] "But you say: 'If it be true that we are all priests and should preach, what chaos will result! Is there no difference, then, among the people, and are the women also priests?' Answer: 'In the New Testament, no priest should wear a tonsure, not that it is of itself wrong, but that no distinction be made between him and the ordinary Christian; for it is inconsistent with faith. So that all those now called priests should be all laymen, like the rest, only some should be chosen by the congregation, as its officers, to preach. The distinction, therefore, is one that is only external, and respects the office, to which one is called by a congregation; but before God, there is no distinction. Only some are selected from the mass, in order to exercise, for the congregation, the office which belongs to all, and not that one has more power than another.'" [2] "Since Christ is the Bridegroom, and we the bride, the bride has all that belongs to the Bridegroom, even His body. For when He gives Himself to the bride, He gives her all that He is, and in turn the bride gives herself to Him. Christ is the eternal High Priest, anointed of God Himself, who has offered for us His own body, and prayed for us on the cross, and also preached the Gospel, and taught all men to acknowledge God and Him. These three offices He has given us all. Since He is Priest, and we are all His brethren, all Christians have the authority and command to preach and proclaim God's grace and virtue, etc., and to go before God, that one may intercede for the other, and offer himself to God. Nevertheless, as St. Paul says that everything should be done in order, not every one should teach and administer

[1] Of the Abuse of the Mass (1522), Erlangen, 28 : 34.
[2] On 1 Peter ii., 9 (1523), Erlangen, 51 : 387 *sqq*.

the sacraments in the congregation, but those only who are called by the congregation, and to whom the office is entrusted, and the rest should listen in silence." [1] "Pastors are priests (as Scripture uses the term), not because of their office, but they are such before their office, from their baptism. . . . For while all are priests, yet not all are to preach or teach or govern, but some must be chosen from the entire body, to whom such office is to be entrusted. He who administers it, is, with respect to his office not a priest as the rest are, but a minister of all the rest; and when he can or will no longer preach or minister, he returns to the common body, hands his office to another, and is nothing more than any private Christian." [2]

The Church, with Luther, is not a visible organisation, or any earthly institution, but only "the communion of saints," or sum total of all believers. In his Large Catechism he construes "communion of saints" as in apposition to "Holy Christian Church." The German word, *Kirche*, he disliked as a foreign word for what would be much better expressed by *Gemeinde*, or congregation.[3]

"Thank God! to-day a child seven years old knows what the Church is, viz., saints, believers, and lambs, who hear the voice of their Shepherd." [4] "The Christian Church on earth is the communion and number or assembly of all Christians in all the world, the only bride

[1] On 1 Peter ii., 9 (1523), Erlangen, 52 : 72 *sq.*
[2] On Ps. cx., 4 (1539), Erlangen, 40 : 171 *sq.*
[3] Large Catechism, Erlangen, 21 : 102.
[4] Schmalkald Articles, Erlangen, 25 : 142.

and spiritual body, whereof He is the only Head; and the bishops or pastors are not heads or lords or bridegrooms of the same, but only its ministers, friends, and, as the word bishop means, overseers, attendants, or presidents. This Christian Church is not confined to the Roman Church or pope, but is in all the world." [1] "It cannot be brought together into one assembly, but is scattered throughout the entire world." [2]

All power in the Church is spiritual; for it is not a worldly government, but its realm is within men's hearts, and its only weapon and means of conquest is the Word.

"Church government is one where one has only the Word. . . . God, therefore, wants to maintain and rule His Church only through the Word and not through human power. Those invested with the office of the ministry have the Word only for the purpose of serving, and not thereby to make themselves lords. . . . Reason regards it confusion and dangerous error that all ministers should be equal, and that one should have the same power as another. To avoid such confusion, the Pope has instituted an order similar to civil governments, where one is superior and has more authority than another. But we have an express command of our Lord Christ who wants things different in His kingdom, which is spiritual, from what they are in a worldly kingdom; that every one may learn how, in the kingdom of God, it is not human authority, or great reputation, but only the word of God that is to prevail. Nevertheless, in such

[1] Confession concerning the Lord's Supper (1528), Erlangen, 30: 369.

[2] On John vii., 40–42 (1530), Erlangen, 48: 211.

Church government, there is an order and difference, according to the principle: 'Difference of gifts, but not of power'; for one has more influence than another, and a different calling or gifts from another." [1]

Not to the ministry as such, but to the entire congregation, and to the ministry only as it acts by the authority and in the name of the congregation, belongs the Power of the Keys.

"No one but the Christian Church, *i. e.*, the assembly of all believers in Christ, has this key; of this, there is no doubt. He who appropriates it to himself, be he Pope, or who he may, commits sacrilege." [2] "Christ gives the keys to the entire congregation, and not to St. Peter. This is shown in Matt. xviii., 18–20, where Christ gives them to St. Peter for the entire congregation." [3] "A pastor exercises the office of the keys, baptises, preaches, administers the sacrament, and does other offices, whereby he serves the congregation, not for his own sake, but for the sake of the congregation, which has entrusted the keys to him, even though he be a rascal. For if he do this instead of the congregation, the Church does it." [4] "The key of binding and loosing, is the authority to teach, and not only to absolve." [5]

"The Church is bound neither to place, time, person, nor to anything but the confession concerning Christ.

[1] On St. Bartholomew's Day, Luke xxii., 24–30, Melanchthon's notes, Erlangen², 3 : 446.

[2] On Confession (1521), Erlangen, 27 : 350 *sq.*

[3] *Ib.*, 363.

[4] On St. Peter and St. Paul's Day (1526), Erlangen², 15 : 433.

[5] *Ib.*, 434.

That is the foundation upon which Christ Himself builds through the Holy Ghost and the preaching of the Gospel." [1] "The Church is where one teaches the Word of God purely, and has baptism and the sacrament." [2] "The temple is now as wide as the world. For the Word is preached and the sacraments administered everywhere; and wherever these are properly observed, whether it be in a ship on the sea, or in a house on land, there is God's house, or the Church, and there God should be sought and found." [3] "In every parish where children are baptised and the Gospel preached and Christ proclaimed to men, there is the Church." [4] "One might as well doubt whether the Gospel be the Word of God, as to doubt this." [5] "Some have this Word entirely pure, and others not so pure. Those having it pure are said to build gold, silver, precious stones upon the foundation; those having it not so pure are said to build upon the same foundation, wood, hay, and stubble, and, nevertheless, are saved, as though through fire. . . . Wherever, then, you hear or see such Word preached, believed, confessed, practised, have no doubt that there must be the Holy Catholic Church, *i. e.*, a Christian, holy people, even though they be few. For God's Word does not return unto Him void (Is. lv., 11), but must have at least a fourth of the field. Were there no sign but this alone, it would be enough to prove that a holy Christian people must be there. For God's Word cannot be without God's peo-

[1] On St. Peter and St. Paul's Day (1526), Erlangen[2], 3 : 386.

[2] For full discussion of the marks of the Church, see *Of Councils and the Church* (1539), Erlangen, 25 : 360 *sqq.*

[3] On Matt. xxi., 12 *sq.* (1538), Erlangen, 44 : 253.

[4] On Matt. xv., 3 (1537), Erlangen, 44 : 24.

[5] *Von der Winkelmesse* (1533), Erlangen, 31 : 374.

ple, or God's people without God's Word. If there were no Christian people, who would preach or attend preaching? and if there were no Word of God, what could or would God's people believe?" [1]

Among those under the Papacy he acknowledges that there are true children of God, and therefore that, in this respect, the Church is there, but maintains that the organisation under the Papacy professing to be the Church is no church, and that the Pope is Antichrist.

"I believe and am sure, that, even under the Papacy, the true Church remains. But, on the other hand, I know that the great mass of its subjects, if we have regard for all, are not the Church. . . . Some among the mass are true Christians, although they are misled, nevertheless, by God's grace, they are wonderfully preserved." [2] "If I see that they preach and confess Christ, as sent by God the Father, that, by His death, He reconciles us to Himself, and we should obtain grace, we are one in this matter, and I regard them as dear brethren in Christ and members of the Christian Church; as also, under the Papacy, this preaching remains, so far as the text is concerned, together with baptism and the sacrament of Christ, and the Creed, etc. Although much error has been introduced, yet many a one has been saved thereby on his death-bed, when he dismissed this other false trust, and held only to Christ, and confessed Him in faith." [3]

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[1] *Of Councils and the Church* (1539), Erlangen, 25: 359 *sqq.*

[2] On John xvi., 1 *sqq.* (1538), Erlangen, 18: 9.

[3] *Ib.*, 13.

That the Pope is Antichrist, he maintains, proves that he sits in the temple of God, and "not in the devil's stable," and this temple of God is nothing but the Holy Christian Church.

"We do not rave, like the fanatics, so as to reject everything that the Pope has under him; for, then, we would reject also the Holy Christian Church [*Christenheit*], the temple of God, with all that it has from Christ. But we contend against and reject the work of the Pope, in not abiding by those blessings, which the Christian Church has inherited from the Apostles," etc.

He illustrates the course of the radical movement against the Papacy by the story of two brothers, in a forest, attacked by a bear. When the one was seized and the bear was lying upon him, the other brother in the excitement struck his brother while aiming a deadly blow at their common enemy. Such he regards the Christian Church, lying in the embrace of Antichrist, and such the course of the fanatics in inflicting upon it still more serious injury. "For where baptism and the sacrament are properly used, Christians, under the Papacy, may still escape and be saved."[1] So also of his adversaries at the other extreme he writes:

"We must acknowledge that the fanatics have the Scriptures and God's Word in other articles, and that he who hears it of them and believes, shall be saved, even though they be heretics and blasphemers of Christ.

[1] Against the Anabaptists (1528), Erlangen, 26: 275.

It is no small grace that God gives His Word through such men." [1]

But when an institution is to be sought in which the Word of God is to be heard, and from which the sacraments are to be received, he declares:

"We do not acknowledge them as the Church, and they are not; we also will not listen to those things which, under the name of Church, they enjoin or forbid." "Here I summon the Pope and his bishops and all who call themselves the Church to judgment, and ask them: 'Do you not also believe in Christ, that you have the forgiveness of sins only through His blood, that this is God's will, and that, therefore, you were baptised and received the Holy Supper, and do you not expect everlasting life?' 'Yes,' they say, 'we also believe this.' But, that you may determine whether you actually believe this, I ask further: 'Why, then, do you teach that we adults have long since lost our baptism, and every one must now do penance for his sins, and be saved by good works? and how is it that you now preach and write that Christ made satisfaction and died only for Original Sin, while we must see to it that we do penance for our actual sins?' Notice only how they lead the people away from Christ to their own works. . . . Thus they make of Christ nothing but a strict and wrathful judge, before whom we are to tremble, as though He would cast us into Hell; as He has been painted as sitting in judgment upon a rainbow, with His mother Mary and John the Baptist, one on each side, as intercessors. This is to entirely abolish Christ, so as to prevent me

[1] Against the Anabaptists (1528), Erlangen, 26: 281.

LUTHER.

FROM MELANCHTHON'S FUNERAL ORATION ON LUTHER, 1546.

from seeing that He was born, suffered, died, and rose again for me. . . . When I thus see Him, I cannot run to Him, but must flee from Him and take refuge with Mary and other saints instead of with Christ and His redemption. Such are the people who want to be called the Christian Church." [1]

To these marks, whereby the presence of a true Church may be recognised, he adds the exercise of the Power of the Keys, both publicly and privately; the existence of a ministry for the administration of the means of grace, which the whole body can employ only through appointed organs; and the cross, or the persecutions and trials of all kinds that are the lot of those who follow Christ.[2]

The unity of the Church, therefore, is found only in agreement of its members in the confession and teaching of the same faith of the Gospel.

"The Word and doctrine should effect Christian unity or fellowship; where it is the same and alike, the rest will follow, but where it is not, there is no unity. Speak not to me of love or friendship, where the Word or faith is renounced; for it is not love, but the Word, that brings eternal life, God's grace, and all heavenly treasures." [3]
"Never will the Church be without offences, scandals, dissensions, and various infirmities. It would be desirable if these were absent, and the comparison of the Church to a bride without spot or wrinkle should apply; but such you will never see it externally, for it is

[1] On John xvi., 1 *sqq.*, Erlangen, 18 : 10 *sq.*
[2] *Of Councils and the Church*, Erlangen, 25 : 363 *sqq.*
[3] On Eph. vi., 10 *sqq.* (1532), Erlangen, 19 : 248.

always oppressed by tyrants, vexed by heretics, exercised by both internal and external afflictions. In all these dangers, we must retain the consolation that the gates of hell cannot prevail against it, and we must proceed courageously to teach, exhort, correct, and whatever else belongs to the ministry of the Word. If some are disobedient, let them go; it is enough that there are some, to whom Christ and the ministry of the Gospel are the resurrection." [1] "The reproach is sometimes scornfully urged against the Christian Church, that dissensions, sects, errors, heresies, and offences are so numerous; as though the doctrine of the Gospel should be regarded false and incorrect, since the Christian Church should be harmonious and at peace. These critics are wise and excellent men, since they are able to teach the Holy Spirit how to rule the Church! Indeed, if the devil were not always biting Christ in the heel, it would be very easy to have such a quiet and peaceable Church. But he is Christ's enemy, and incessantly stirs up in the Church war and sects and disturbance. . . . The dear Church must be without peace, if it will not listen to the enemy of the Lord Jesus Christ. How can it be otherwise? For the heel-biter, the devil, will not rest, or give peace to the head-crusher; and, on the other hand, the head-crusher, our Lord, will not endure such a heel-biter." [2]

So also the holiness of the Church is entirely a matter of faith.

"We are to believe that the Church is holy; we cannot see it. For the Creed says: 'I believe that there is

[1] On Ps. cxxxii., 11, *Op. ex.*, 20 : 260.

[2] *Die drei Symbola* (1538), Erlangen, 23 : 263.

a Holy Christian Church,' it does not say: 'I see a Holy Church.' If you judge according to the outward appearance, you will see that it is sinful and infirm, and has numerous offences, so that one is inclined to impatience, another to wrath, one has one fault, and another, another. Hence, it is written, not: 'I see,' but: 'I believe there is a Holy Christian Church.' I refer to this, as a consolation against those who when they find in our body the least scab or freckle, at once make much of it, and say: 'Lo, these are fruits of the Gospel!'" [1]

The perpetuity of the Church he rests upon the promise of the abiding presence of the Holy Spirit upon earth, to lead believers into all truth (John xiv., 17, 18). The Christian Church, therefore, must remain, even though there should be but two believers on earth. As in the future so also in the past. It is no new Church that came into being at the Reformation. "We are the true ancient Church, one Body and one Communion of Saints with the entire Holy Christian Church." [2] "Our baptism is not new, or one invented at this time, but it is the same old baptism which Christ instituted, and with which the Apostles and the first Church and all Christians since then have baptised." [3] "We have the Lord's Supper just as Christ instituted it, and the Apostles and the entire Christian Church have used it; and thus eat and drink from one table with the ancient and entire Christian Church." [4] "We devise nothing new,

[1] On Gal. v., 9, *Com. Gal.*, 3 : 40.
[2] Against Hans Wurst (1541), Erlangen, 26 : 12 *sq.*
[3] *Ib.*, 13. [4] *Ib.*

but hold and abide by the old Word of God as the Ancient Church did; we are, therefore, with the same true Ancient Church, one Church believing and teaching one Word of God." [1] He freely acknowledged his indebtedness: "Everything have we received from the churches among you (not of you)." [2] "We are not ashamed of praising whatever good we find in the papal churches." While antiquity of itself has no claim, for "then the devil would be the most righteous person on earth, since he is now over five thousand years old," [3] nevertheless,

"if what has been in use, from of old, is to be changed or abolished, an indubitable proof must be given that it is contrary to God's Word. Otherwise, what is not against us is for us (Mark vi., 38; Luke ix., 49). Thus, in abolishing cloisters and masses and clerical celibacy, we have cited clear passages of Scripture against them. If we had not done this, we should have allowed them to remain as they were." [4] "It is dangerous and terrible to hear or believe anything contrary to the unanimous testimony, faith, and doctrine of the entire Holy Christian Church, which, for over fifteen hundred years now, it has unanimously held throughout all the world." [5]

No new articles of faith or good works can be prescribed by the Church, whose entire office it is

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[1] Against Hans Wurst (1541), Erlangen, 26 : 14. [2] *Ib.*, 25.
[3] Answer to Henry VIII. (1522), Erlangen, 28 : 358.
[4] Against the Anabaptists (1528), Erlangen, 26 : 269.
[5] Letter to Duke Albert of Prussia (1532), De Wette, 4 : 354 ; Erlangen, 54 : 288a.

simply to declare what it finds laid down in Holy Scripture. The members of the Church are in duty bound to test all the Church's teaching by the Scriptures, and never to be satisfied with a doctrine simply because it has been approved by councils or synods or distinguished teachers or majorities.

"If you say: 'How can we know what is God's Word, and what is right or wrong? We must learn this of the Pope or councils.' Let them decide what they will, I tell you that you cannot, in that way, satisfy your conscience. Your life is at stake, and you must decide the question for yourself. Until God says in your heart: 'This is God's Word,' the matter will not rest. . . . They quote the saying of Augustine: 'I would not believe the Gospel, unless the authority of the Church had moved me thereto'; and think that, by this, they have won. But I say: 'What matters it to me whether Augustine or Jerome, St. Peter or St. Paul, and what is much more, the archangel Gabriel from heaven, say this? Nothing of all this helps me. I must have God's Word. I will hear what God, the Lord, will say.'" [1]

Luther's doctrine of the right of private judgment, it will be noticed, is not that every one is at liberty to pass what judgment he pleases with respect to spiritual things. There is a fixed and unerring norm which the private Christian is under as much obligation to follow as any judge is restrained from arbitrary verdicts by the law that he has sworn to administer. "Such judging of doctrine must not

[1] First sermon on Gospel for Eighth Sunday after Trinity, Erlangen², 13 : 230.

be according to our own thoughts, or from one's own wisdom, but there must be a fixed, clear rule, according to which to judge; and such rule is the word of Christ. This alone is the norm and test, as we have often said." [1] Upon this principle, then, "Christ takes away from bishops and learned men and councils the right of judging concerning doctrine, and gives it to every one, and to all Christians in common, as He says (John x., 4): 'My sheep know My voice; My sheep know not the voice of strangers." [2]

Thus not only with respect to the faith of the individual, but also with respect to the rights of congregations.

"Even though the bishops were what they should be, and wished to promote the Gospel, and would appoint preachers of the right kind, nevertheless they should not do this without the will, election, and call of the congregation, except where necessity constrains them to act to prevent souls from going to ruin because of the absence of God's Word." [3]

Luther's eschatology is marked by the same practical features that determine the other articles of his system. Questions concerning the state of the dead he dismisses as relatively unimportant. "I pray in

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[1] Second sermon on Gospel for Eighth Sunday after Trinity, Erlangen[2], 13: 275.

[2] "That a Christian congregation has the authority to judge all doctrine, and call and depose ministers" (1523), Erlangen, 22: 143.

[3] *Ib.*, 149.

Christ that your teachers would avoid questions concerning the saints in Heaven and the dead, and would turn the people therefrom, since there will be no end to such questions, if you allow but one." [1] Salvation, without faith in Christ, he declares impossible. "We have strong passages that, without faith, God neither will nor can save any one (Mark xvi., 16; Heb. xi., 6; John iii., 6; v., 18). If now God save any one without faith, He acts against His own words and convicts Himself of falsehood." [2] "There is no help or grace without Jesus Christ, who has helped us gratuitously, since we are all sinners, at the cost of His own blood and suffering. If, then, any should take exception to this, keep silent; it is better than for you to deny such a clear and certain foundation." [3] The heathen who experienced God's grace under the Old Testament were brought to faith "when they heard the sermons and doctrine of the patriarchs." [4] If those who die without faith be ultimately saved, he maintains it can occur only if faith be given in the world to come; for which he can find no warrant in God's Word. "There is yet another question, viz.: Whether at death or after death, God could give faith, and thus save through faith? Who is it that doubts that He could do this? But that He does

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[1] To Christians at Erfurt (1522), Erlangen, 53: 110; De Wette, 2: 20.

[2] To Hans von Rechenberg (1522), Erlangen, 22: 34; De Wette, 2: 455.

[3] On Gen. xx. (1527), Erlangen, 33: 385.

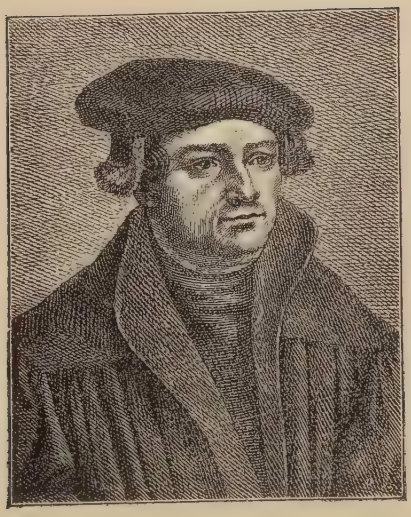
[4] On Gen. xlvii. (between 1535 and 1545), *Op. ex.*, 11: 76.

this cannot be proved." [1] Concerning the question of consciousness between death and the resurrection, he is much perplexed. While he applies the analogy of sleep, he is unwilling to accept it as a satisfactory explanation.

"How the soul rests we ought not to know. It is certain that it lives. Consider men in a trance or sleeping. . . . I do not feel that I am living when I am asleep. . . . Often when I have earnestly tried to notice the moment of my falling asleep, and the moment of my waking, I have wakened already before I took notice." [2] "Nevertheless, the sleep of this life and that of the future life differ; for in this life, man, fatigued by his daily labour, at nightfall goes to his couch, as in peace, to sleep there, and enjoys rest; nor does he know anything of evil, whether of fire or of murder. But the soul does not sleep in such way, but watches and experiences visions of angels and the like." [3]

The question of the immediate punishment of the godless at death is one upon which he repeatedly expressed himself unwilling to give any opinion. While prayers for the dead are without any Scriptural foundation, he is unwilling to forbid them absolutely. "For the dead, since Scripture mentions nothing concerning them, I do not regard it a sin to pray thus, or the like: 'O God, if Thou hast such relations with souls that Thou canst help them, be gracious to them'; and if this occur once or twice,

[1] To von Rechenberg, De Wette, 2 : 455.
[2] On Gen. xxvi., *Op. ex.*, 6 : 329.
[3] On Gen. xxv., *Op. ex.*, 6 : 120.



JUSTUS JONAS.

AFTER A PORTRAIT BY L. CRANACH, "GENEALOGY," 1543.

let that be enough."[1] Hell, he teaches, is not entered by the wicked until the Last Day. "Hell, at this place, cannot be the proper Hell, which will begin at the Last Day."[2] "In this rich man, I think, that is indicated which would occur in all unbelievers if their eyes should be opened in death, or under the necessities of death. This can happen only for a moment, and then cease again until the Last Day, as it pleases God."[3] Almost the very words of the Augsburg Confession (Art. XVII.) are used in rejecting the doctrine of a reign of Christ upon earth prior to the Last Day.[4]

The end of the world he believed to be very near.

"The world is running so hastily towards its end that serious thoughts often occur as to whether the Last Day may not break before the translation of Holy Scriptures into German can be completed. For it is certain that no more temporal things prophesied in the Scriptures are to be fulfilled. The Roman Empire has fallen; the Turk has reached his height; the glory of the Papacy is declining, and the world is cracking at all ends, as though about to break and fall."[5]

His belief of this nearness of the end had probably much to do with his change of opinion concerning the future of the Jews, whose general conversion he

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[1] Confession concerning the Lord's Supper (1528), Erlangen, 30: 370.

[2] On Gospel for First Sunday after Trinity, Erlangen[2], 13: 13.

[3] *Ib.*, 15.

[4] On Matt. xxiv., Erlangen, 45: 110.

[5] Introduction to Daniel (1530), Erlangen, 41: 233.

first taught, but for whom in his later years he had no hope.[1]

Often he portrays in most sombre pictures, which his opponents for generations have industriously published as though they were confessions of failures, the low moral tone and immoralities of many of those to whom the Gospel had been preached as he has restored it. But never does he waver concerning his confidence that it has been God's Word that he has preached, or in his purpose, so long as life lasts, to continue in the course he had begun. In the fact that the more the Gospel is preached the worse the world grows, he not only draws a comparison with the experience of men of God who have preceded him, and whose lives are recorded in Scripture, but also sees therein a fulfilment of prophecy, and a token of the deliverance that is approaching with the descent of God's judgments upon the ungodly.[2]

The denial of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, he says, is equivalent to saying "that there is no Gospel, no baptism, no Christ, no God."[3] The identity of the resurrection-body with that borne in this life is maintained, only a change

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[1] On St. Stephen's Day (1521), Erlangen², 10 : 244 *sq.*, compared with *Of the Jews and their Lies* (1543), Erlangen, 32 : 99–274.

[2] Such passages, among many others, industriously collected by unfriendly critics, of whose methods the citations in Döllinger's *Die Reformation, ihre innere Entwicklung und ihre Wirkungen* (Regensburg, 1848), 1 : 289–359, are a fair specimen, misleading no one who reads them in the context, are *Op. ex.*, 5 : 328 ; Erlangen², 14 : 89–92 ; Erlangen, 17 : 457 ; 36 : 302, 401 ; 48 : 198.

[3] On 1 Cor. xv., 35–38 (1544), Erlangen, 19 : 107.

of properties being admitted, that does not extend so far even as to eradicate distinctions of sex. "The same body and soul which each one has, will remain, with all the members; but the body will have another form and use, and will not eat or drink, etc., and will need none of those things belonging to this transitory life." [1] "The body will have sharp eyes, so as to be able to see through a mountain, and quick ears, so as to be able to hear from one end of the earth to the other." [2]

"I would not surrender a moment of heaven for all the possessions and joy of all the world, even though they should last for thousands and thousands of years. Only think what you would like to have! Is it money and clothing? He will clothe you more richly than your Emperor can be clad. Is it to be a lord? You shall have more than you can desire. You will be sharp to see and hear for over a hundred miles, through walls and battlements, and so light, that, in a moment, you can be wherever you wish, either here upon earth or above in the clouds." [3]

The world will be transfigured and shine in new beauty. "Now it has on its working-clothes; then it will put on its Easter and Whitsunday robes." [4] "Everything will be far more beautiful than now, water and trees and grass, and the earth will be entirely new." [5]

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[1] On 1 Cor. xv., 39–44 (1544), Erlangen, 19 : 135 *sq.*; *cf.* 51 : 219.
[2] *Ib.*, 120.
[3] On 1 Cor. xv. (1534), Erlangen, 51 : 184.
[4] On Gen. xlv., 22; *Op. ex.*, 10 : 392.
[5] On 1 Cor. xv., Erlangen, 51 : 183.

"If the sun is now a beautiful bright light, so that no man, however sharp and clear his eyes, can endure its brilliancy without being overcome, what will it be in the life to come, when the sun shall shine sevenfold more clearly than now! Bright, clear eyes will be given, that we may endure such sunlight. If Adam had remained in the innocency in which he was created, he would have had bright, clear eyes that could have gazed upon the sun like an eagle. In that day, all shall be made new and beautiful once more. The creature shall be made free from the service of this transitory life and be introduced into the glorious liberty of the children of God."[1]

[1] On Ps. viii. (1537), Erlangen, 39 : 36.

THE LORD'S SUPPER,
A MEDAL OF 1546.

COMMEMORATING THE DEFEAT OF
JOHN FREDERICK,
APRIL 24 1547.

CHAPTER XV

HOME LIFE AND LAST DAYS

AS we approach the closing events of this career, so crowded with labours and incidents of far-reaching significance that it is difficult to embrace them within a brief compass, attention must be given to some of the details of his private life. No engagements, however pressing, were allowed to interfere with his constant association with his family. In its circle he daily found relief and relaxation from his numerous cares.

Five children survived infancy. John (Hans), born in 1526, became a jurist and counsellor at Weimar. Martin, born in 1531, studied theology, but his health being frail, he never entered the ministry; he married well and died early. Paul, the most gifted of the three sons, born in 1533, studied medicine and became physician, first to the Elector of Brandenburg and afterwards to the Elector August of Saxony. His youngest daughter,

Margaretta, married a nobleman by the name of von Kunheim. While but one attained eminence, none of them in any way disgraced the good name which they bore. The last descendant in a direct line, Martin Gottlob, a Dresden lawyer, died November 3, 1759.

The most pathetic scene in Luther's life was that of the death of his daughter, Magdalena, in her fourteenth year, September 20, 1542, a child of singular depth of character, amiable, affectionate, and deeply religious. Without the ordinary failings of children, the father testified that she had never done an act that required parental reproof. Deeply attached to her brother John, when her illness became alarming, he was brought from school at Torgau to be with her in her last days. A profound impression was made upon all Luther's acquaintances, as they saw or heard of a man of such rugged strength overcome with emotion by the side of his dying child, and asking her: "Magdalena, darling daughter, is it not true that you would like to stay here with your father, and yet that you want to go to your Father above?" "Yes, dear father," came the answer, "just as God wills." "Dear little daughter! the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak." Then aside: "Oh, how I love her! If the flesh is so strong, what must the spirit be! I am angry with myself for not rejoicing and being thankful." Gently, in her father's arms, the little girl fell asleep. As he gazed upon her in her coffin, he exclaimed: "Dear Lenchen, thou shalt rise again, and shine as a star, aye, as the sun!" When his friends comforted him,

the answer was: "I have sent a saint, a living saint, to Heaven!" To his friend, Justus Jonas, he wrote:

"The features, words, movements of this most obedient and reverent daughter, both living and dying, remain deeply imprinted on my heart, so that not even the death of Christ, in comparison with which all other deaths are as nothing, can altogether efface this. Hers was so mild, so sweet, and, in every way, so lovely a disposition! Blessed be our Lord Jesus Christ, who has called, chosen, and glorified her. Oh, that such a death, as well as such a life, were mine, and that of mine!" [1]

In his house various theological students served at different times as private instructors. His wife's aunt, "Muhme Lene," as she was familiarly called, a former nun, made her home with the family. Luther's messages and allusions to her in his letters show how highly she was esteemed. Two nieces, and while they were students, five nephews, sons of his two sisters and his brother, were also inmates of the house. A number of students boarded usually at his table. His servant, Wolf Sieberger, generally known as "Wolf," was a character who afforded the family much amusement. A student too dull to have any prospects of intellectual success, Wolf had acquiesced in the general judgment of his incapacity, and was content thereafter to serve as Luther's factotum. He did many offices for the family and entertained the children. Once when he entered into an elaborate plan, by means of nets, to catch birds, Luther drew up a formal charge, "Com-

[1] De Wette, 5 : 500 *sqq.*

plaint of the Birds to Martin Luther concerning his Servant, Wolf Sieberger." [1]

He kept open house, and was often imposed upon. Guests came from all quarters and from all classes of the community. During the epidemics of the plague his house was crowded with those who fled from the contagion at their homes. A frequent visitor was the Electoral Princess of Brandenburg, exiled for a time on account of her faith, who was once nursed through an illness of four months in Luther's house.

Luther's habits were the simplest. Without being an ascetic, and believing in the enjoyment of the good gifts of God as a Christian duty, he was most temperate in regard to food and drink and very plain in his dress. At the table, especially in the evening, when his mind was not preoccupied by the important subjects on which he was writing, he gave the freest expression to his judgment on all subjects suggested by his guests, condensing the matured fruit of his studies and wide observation into a few words, and stating it in the most popular form. Notes of these sayings were taken by a number of the students who boarded at his table, such as Veit Dietrich, Matthesius, Aurifaber, and others, and these notes were finally collected into his renowned *Table-Talk*.

In later years the eminent executive ability of his wife, who, besides caring for their own home, also administered a small farm at Zulsdorf, near Wittenberg, together with the increase in his salary, and

[1] Erlangen, 64 : 347.

DR. JOHN MATTHESIUS.

FROM A WOOD-CUT BY TOBIAS STIMMER.

annual gifts from princes and other friends, raised him above all want, and gave him some of the comforts of life which in his earlier years he had not enjoyed.

The company of a small circle of his most intimate friends he particularly welcomed. Such was the "Sanhedrim," whom he entertained once a week while the translation of the Bible was in progress of revision, and such also were the birthday gatherings at his table on November 10th of each year. Melanchthon tells us of such a company held on Luther's last birthday.

Besides music and the culture of flowers he found recreation for a time in the use of a turning-lathe, and afterwards in bowling, for which he had an alley built in his garden. He delighted in short excursions into the country, visiting with his wife and children the neighbouring pastors, gathering fruit, and partaking, in truly modern picnic fashion, of the ample luncheon from the family basket.

But the end rapidly approached, and during the early part of the summer of 1545, his old infirmity, the calculus, gave him the greatest discomfort. Anxieties as to the coming council and the Turks troubled him. His experience with some of his old friends made him suspicious and irritable. Some of his confidants were not judicious, and excited the sick man by their reports of irregularities as well as of imagined projects, from the consideration of which he had been excluded. At the close of July he determined to accompany Cruciger to Zeitz, whither the latter had been called with Bishop Amsdorf, to adjust some church troubles. His son John and

John's tutor accompanied him. Although needing absolute quiet, he had to listen to tales concerning things at Wittenberg, of which he had never heard at home. Injudicious scandalmongers drove him almost frantic. From Leipzig he wrote to his wife that he wished never to return to Wittenberg. Their possessions there could be sold. The family might retire to their little farm at Zulsdorf. His salary, which was now that of an Emeritus Professor, would still be available. The disorderly conduct of the young women of Wittenberg, their fashionable dress, which he pronounces indecent, and the utter unconcern of those whose duty it was to reprove them, are particularly mentioned as reasons why he should leave. "Away from such a Sodom! I would sooner wander about and beg my bread than vex my last days with the irregular proceedings at Wittenberg."[1] If she pleased, she might tell this to Melanchthon and Bugenhagen. When the contents of the letter became known to the authorities they occasioned no small amount of consternation. The two colleagues just mentioned hastened to persuade him to dismiss all such thoughts, and the Elector, probably recognising a physical cause for the despondency, sent his physician with a similar message. They met Luther at Merseburg, where he was assisting Amsdorf in the consecration of George of Anhalt as bishop. On August 16th, yielding to the entreaties of his friends, he reached home, after conferring at Torgau with the Elector.

[1] De Wette, 5 : 752 *sq.*

In the autumn he was called to his old home in the domain of the Counts of Mansfeld. For years he had presented the complaints of some of the peasants, among them his own relatives, to Count Albrecht, concerning the oppression which they claimed to be suffering. These communications were always kindly received. A dispute having arisen between the counts themselves, they agreed to refer the matter to Luther as one of the arbitrators. His first trip in October was fruitless, as the sudden attempt of Henry of Brunswick to recover his territory had called the counts away, but Luther had the satisfaction of rejoicing over the complete victory gained by the Landgrave, and the capture of Henry and his eldest son. He wrote an open letter to the Elector and Landgrave, urging them to hold Henry in captivity. The negotiations between the counts were again opened. After completing his lectures on Genesis, upon which he had been occupied for years, on November 17th, with the words: "I can do no more. I am weak. God grant me a blessed end!" he started for Mansfeld at the close of December, accompanied by Melanchthon. But the proceedings had scarcely begun when Melanchthon was taken ill, and Luther hastened to Wittenberg with him, promising that he would soon return. Reaching Wittenberg, January 6, 1546, he preached for the last time there, and with unusual power, January 17th. On the 23d he started for the third time on his errand of peace, taking with him his sons, their tutor, and Aurifaber. Eisleben was appointed for the conference, and they expected

to reach their destination on the day after leaving Wittenberg. But a freshet had swollen the Saale, and the flood and floating ice detained them at Halle as guests of Jonas until the 28th. On this visit, or the one shortly before, Luther presented Jonas with a glass goblet, bearing the following inscription in Latin:

> "Luther himself but glass, to Jonas glass, gives glass,
> That each may know how like to fragile glass he is."

Just as they were entering his native place, Luther, who had been walking and become overheated, was prostrated by an attack of oppression on his breast, attended with a sense of suffocation and faintness, that greatly alarmed his companions. Taken to a house near by, hot cloths were applied, and under this treatment he promptly rallied. By the next Sunday he was able to preach. His boys meanwhile were sent to Mansfeld to spend the time with their relatives, while their father was engaged in the arbitration.

A number of nobles had been called in to participate in the proceedings, among them Wolfgang of Anhalt and the Count of Schwartzburg. The tedious processes of the law, and what Luther regarded as the senseless quibbling of the lawyers, were irksome in the extreme. As the case was prolonged, he thought once of bringing it to an abrupt termination by taking his departure, but was deterred by a sense of duty to his country. He wrote to Melanchthon, however, suggesting that, in case the proceedings were carried much farther, the Elector should be

requested to command his return. With his wife, who was particularly anxious about him, and with Melanchthon, he maintained a constant correspondence. With tender sarcasm he tried to soothe her fears when he wrote to his wife:

"Only read, dear Kate, St. John, and the Small Catechism, of which you once said to me that everything in the book was said of you. For you want to care for your God precisely as though He were not Almighty, and could not create ten Dr. Martins if the old one were to be drowned in the Saale, or be burned in the oven, or be caught in Wolf's bird-trap. Dismiss your cares, for I have One Who cares for me better than you or angels can. He lies in a manger, and hangs on the breast of a virgin, but is also seated at the right hand of God the Father Almighty." [1]

A few days afterwards:

"We thank you most sincerely for your great anxiety, which would not let you sleep; for since the time when you began to care for us the fire wanted to consume us in our lodging, just by my door, and yesterday a stone almost fell on my head, and came near crushing me, as in a mouse-trap. . . . I am really anxious; for if you do not cease caring, the earth will swallow us up, and all the elements pursue us! Only pray, and let God do all the caring; for it is written: 'Casting all your care upon Him,' etc." [2]

On February 16th he wrote to Melanchthon, announcing his speedy return, and asking him to send

[1] De Wette, 5 : 787. [2] *Ib.*, 789.

by special messenger, who would meet him on the way, an ointment which he was in the habit of using to keep open a sore on his limb. It had been forgotten, and the wound was healing, from which he apprehended danger. On the same day he preached for the last time; it was his fourth sermon during the arbitration. He also received the Lord's Supper, and ordained two ministers. On the 16th, an agreement was reached and received his signature. The next day some additional matters were settled, but his presence was not required below stairs. He remained all the day above in his apartments, which consisted of a sitting- and a sleeping-room. In the evening he was much better, and came down to supper. Although his thoughts and conversation were largely upon death and the world to come, he was unusually cheerful, enjoyed his meal, and said that it was worthy of those that in his childhood he had there known. Bidding the company good-night, he retired with his two younger sons, who had returned from Mansfeld. Dr. Jonas and Aurifaber accompanied him. Intending at once to go to rest, he withdrew to the window of the sitting-room to pray, when he was seized suddenly with an alarming attack of oppression on the breast, which soon yielded to vigorous rubbing and the application of hot cloths. Then, lying upon a lounge in the same room, he slept until ten o'clock. Thinking that he could now safely take his bed, he walked into the sleeping-room, and while doing so was heard to repeat the words: "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit," etc. As he bade Jonas and Pastor Coelius

of Eisleben good-night, he asked them to pray against the machinations of the Council of Trent. It was one o'clock when he was again aroused, and another attack speedily followed. "Dr. Jonas," he cried out, "here in Eisleben, where I was born and baptised, I think I shall remain." As he re-entered the sitting-room, he again repeated the words: "Into Thy hands," etc., and after pacing the floor for a short time, sank upon the lounge. The pain increased; two physicians were summoned. Count Albrecht and the Countess were soon at hand, and were unwearied in their attention. In the midst of his paroxysms he prayed:

"I thank Thee, O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that Thou hast revealed Thy Son to me, on Whom I have believed, Whom I have loved, Whom I have preached and confessed and worshipped, Whom the Pope and all the ungodly abuse and slander. O Lord Jesus Christ, I commend my poor soul to Thee. O Heavenly Father, I know that, although I shall be taken away from this life, I shall live forever with Thee. 'God so loved the world that he gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit."[1]

Then there was a silence that no one ventured for a time to interrupt. Were those lips forever sealed

[1] *Vom Christlichen abschied aus diesen tödlichen leben des Ehrwirdigen Herrn D. Martini Lutheri, bericht, durch D. Justum Jonam, M. Michaelem Celium, und ander die dabey gewesen*, Wittemberg, 1546, p. 15.

until the morning of the Resurrection? Could not just one word more of testimony to his faith be heard? One message, if possible, must still be received from the receding spirit as it leaves all earthly cares behind. The two pastors, Jonas and Coelius, shake him, and call with a loud voice into his ear: "Reverend Father, do you die in the faith of your Lord Jesus Christ, and in the doctrine which you preached in His Name?" The answer was clear and distinct: "Yes." With this he turned upon his side and peacefully went to sleep. It was just fifteen minutes before three o'clock when he breathed his last. For this hour he had long been preparing.

"He was dying," said Coelius, "for more than a year; *i. e.*, he thought of death, preached about death, conversed about death, wrote about death. The day before he departed I read to him, at his own request, many consoling passages from his Psalter, which he had marked and written in it, in order to comfort himself with them."[1]

Of the same careful preparation Jonas writes: "In his Psalter and Prayer-Book, which he always carried with him, he wrote more than twenty consolatory passages, as much as to say: 'I will, with the help of God, lay hold of one of these passages in my last hour.'"[2]

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[1] *Zwo Trösliche Predigt über der Leich D. Doct. Martini Luther, zu Eisleben den XIX. und XX. Februarii gethan, durch D. Doct. Justum Jonam et M. Michaelem Celium*, Anno 1546, Wittemberg, p. 50.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 11.

Before daybreak the messenger was off for Wittenberg, carrying with him a full report to the Elector of the sad scene that had just transpired, prepared by Dr. Jonas immediately after its occurrence. The letter of Jonas was at once transmitted by the Elector to Wittenberg. On the next morning at nine o'clock, when the students assembled to hear a lecture on the Epistle to the Romans, Melanchthon announced the news that had just been received, and gave them a full account of the particulars as they had been reported, with the statement that false reports were likely to be circulated, the Italian pamphlet of the year before having suggested the probability of such slander on the part of his enemies.

Although the Counts of Mansfeld urged that he be buried in his native land, the Elector decided that Wittenberg was the proper place for his grave.

On February 19th services were held in St. Andrew's Church, Eisleben, where Dr. Jonas preached from 1 Thess. iv., 13–18, and Coelius from Is. lvii., 1. Attended by two of the counts and a guard of honour of about fifty riders, the procession from Eisleben to Wittenberg was marked by demonstrations of grief in all the places through which it passed, where bells were tolled and the whole population turned out to pay their tribute of respect. The first night the corpse rested in one of the churches of Halle, guarded by faithful watchers. On February 22d, at nine o'clock in the morning, they reached Wittenberg. In the Castle Church, upon whose doors the XCV. Theses had been nailed, the sermon was preached by Bugenhagen, from the

same text that had been used by Jonas at Eisleben, and then Melanchthon, standing by the side of the casket, delivered in Latin a most eloquent tribute to his friend, as tender and loyal as it was discriminating. He was a man, said the speaker, who wielded the sword with one hand while he built the walls of Jerusalem with the other. If his words were sometimes open to criticism because of their severity, the remark of Erasmus might be recalled, that the extremity of the diseases in this last age of the world required a physician who resorted to heroic remedies. While he could not maintain that he was right in all these severities, nevertheless, as the one who knew him best, he could testify to the absence of personal rancour, and to the fact that, in his private life, he was in no way contentious, but was most affable and considerate of the interests of those around him. Without any ambition except to be faithful to his divine calling, a stranger to the arts of diplomacy, pure in life and candid in speech, sustained and impelled in his work by the Spirit of God, with whom he communed in the daily study of the Word, and in most ardent prayers, often wrung from his heart, as his friends knew, with tears, God has raised up in him a leader and teacher, for whose life devout minds throughout all eternity would give God all the praise and glory.[1] By the pulpit, where he had so often preached, he was buried.

The church upon the wooden doors of which in 1517 the XCV. Theses had been nailed, became the

[1] *C. R.*, 11 : 726 *sqq.*

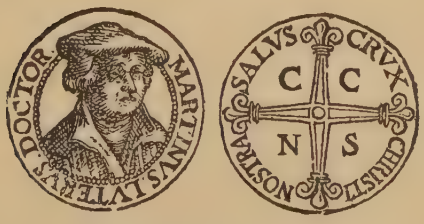
"Westminster Abbey" of the Lutheran Church. These doors were burned in 1760, when Wittenberg was bombarded, and in their place bronze doors were erected in 1812, upon which the Theses were cast. Within them lie the Electors Frederick the Wise and John the Constant. There also, fourteen years after Luther's death, Melanchthon was laid. Around them are no less than ninety university professors and teachers. The University lived upon the memories of its brilliant career in the sixteenth century, in spite of the notoriously unsuitable location of Wittenberg for such an institution, until, in 1817, it was merged with Halle. A famous painting in the *Capelle zum heiligen Leichnam*, near the Parochial Church, represents the Emperor Charles V. standing by the grave of Luther, when, in March, 1547, Wittenberg fell by the fortunes of war into his hands. The Duke of Alva is supposed to be suggesting that Luther's remains be disinterred and dishonoured, but the Emperor answers: "I war not with the dead, but with the living." In the absence of cotemporary records of such an event, we must regard it as embodying only a conception of the artist, intended, probably, to show the reverence that the memory of Luther inspired in the mind of the highest earthly potentate, but also susceptible of the interpretation of the triumph of the living Empero rover the dead Luther. The hour of vengeance for Charles seemed to have come, and the movement begun at that spot thirty years before to be weakening. But there is a power that is mightier than that of vast armies. It is that power on which

Luther placed his reliance in all the conflicts through which he passed: the simple power of the living Word. The Word which he brought to light and embodied in his translation of the Bible, his catechisms, his hymns, with their matchless melodies, his sermons, his revision of the Church Service, his Theses, his controversial writings, his positive presentations of doctrine, such as the *Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans* and his *Freedom of a Christian Man*, still live, and will continue to live from generation to generation. As time advances Charles is remembered more and more only as the Emperor whose reign was in the days of Luther. That Luther's influence does not diminish with time is shown by the incessant attacks of enemies. One of the most lauded and admired, he is also one of the most disparaged of the great characters of history; for his words not only still touch, but continue to powerfully influence, living issues. One of the greatest needs of modern times is the careful, scientific, discriminating study of Luther's writings and acts, according to his own presentations, and in their historical setting. The canons of historical criticism, which honesty in the treatment of other lives demands, must be applied here also.

"The world," says the late Dr. Krauth, "knows his faults. He could not hide what he was. His transparent candour gave his enemies the material of their misrepresentation; but they cannot blame his infirmities without bearing witness to the nobleness which made him careless of appearances in a world of defamers. For himself, he had as little of the virtue of caution as

he had, towards others, of the vice of dissimulation. Living under thousands of jealous and hating eyes, in the broadest light of day, the testimony of enemies but fixes the result: that his faults were those of a nature of the most consummate grandeur and fulness, faults more precious than the virtues of the common great. Four potentates ruled the mind of Europe in the Reformation, the Emperor, Erasmus, the Pope, and Luther. The Pope wanes, Erasmus is little, the Emperor is nothing, but Luther abides as a power for all time. His image casts itself upon the current of ages, as the mountain mirrors itself in the river that winds at its foot—the mighty fixing itself immutably upon the changing." [1]

[1] *Conservative Reformation*, p. 87.



MEDAL OF LUTHER.
FROM GRETSER'S "DE SANCTA CRUCE."

APPENDIX I

BULL OF LEO X. AGAINST THE ERRORS OF MARTIN LUTHER AND HIS FOLLOWERS[1]

Leo, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God.

For the perpetual memory of the subject.

[The Pope invokes God and the saints to defend the Church against the new heretics.]

ARISE, O Lord, and judge thy cause, be mindful of thy reproaches, with which the foolish reproach thee daily; incline thine ear to our prayers, since foxes have arisen seeking to spoil the vineyard, whose wine-press thou hast trodden alone, and whose care, government and administration when thou wast about to ascend

[1] Latin original in Schaff's *Church History*, 233 *sqq.*; Gerdesius, *Historia Reformationis*, Monumenta, i., 129 *sqq.*; *Op. var. arg.*, iv., 263 *sqq.* German translation of Ulrich von Hutten, Walch, xv., 1691 *sqq.* The capitalisation of this translation is identical with that of the original. The analysis is that of the editor. The translation is by the author.

to the Father, thou didst entrust to Peter, as its head and thy vicar, and to his successors, after the image of the triumphant Church: the boar out of the wood is seeking to waste it, and a peculiar wild beast doth devour it.

Arise, O Peter, and, by virtue of the pastoral office entrusted thee (as before said) and divinely required of thee, attend to the cause of the holy Roman Church, the Mother of all churches, and mistress of the faith, which thou, at God's command, didst consecrate with thy blood, against which, as thou didst deign to forewarn, false teachers are rising, introducing ruinous sects, and inducing upon themselves swift destruction, whose tongue is fire, a restless evil, full of deadly poison, who having bitter zeal and contentions in their hearts, do boast and lie against the truth.

Arise, thou too, O Paul, we ask, who hast illumined and illustrated it [the Church] with thy doctrine and likewise with thy martyrdom. For a new Porphyry is arising; since, just as he of old attacked unjustly the holy Apostles, so against thy doctrine this one fears not to attack and wound, and, where he distrusts his cause, to reproach the holy Pontiffs, our predecessors, not by entreaties, but by vituperations, after the manner of heretics (as Jerome saith), whose last resort it is, when they see that their causes are about to be condemned, to begin to scatter with their tongues the venom of the serpent; and when they see that they have been conquered, to break forth in abuse. For although thou hast said that heresies are for the purpose of testing the faithful, nevertheless, by thy aid and intercession, they should be suppressed in the very beginning, before they grow or the little foxes gather strength.

Finally, let the entire congregation of saints, and the

rest of the Church universal arise, whose true interpretation of holy scriptures being set aside, some, whose minds the father of lies hath blinded, according to the ancient custom of heretics, wise in their own eyes, interpret the same scriptures otherwise than the holy Spirit requireth, only according to their own sense, for ambition, and, as the Apostle witnesseth, for popularity, and, in so doing, even wrest and corrupt the scriptures, so that, as Jerome saith, it is no longer the gospel of Christ, but of man, or what is worse, of the devil, that they preach. Let the aforesaid holy Church of God, I say, arise, and, with the aforesaid most blessed Apostles, intercede with God almighty, that, their sheep being freed from all errors, and all heresies being excluded from the borders of the faithful, he may deign to preserve the peace and unity of his holy Church universal.

[The Pope's distress at the revamping of condemned Greek and Bohemian heresies.]

For some time already, a matter, whereof we can scarcely make mention, because of our distress and sorrow, hath come to our hearing by the report of trustworthy persons, as well as by common rumour, yea, alas! we have even seen and read with our own eyes many and various errors, viz., some condemned by the Councils and Constitutions of our Predecessors, containing expressly the heresy of the Greeks and Bohemians; but others, on their part, either heretical or false or scandalous, or offensive to godly ears, or seductive to simple minds, recently agitated and diffused among some trifling persons in the renowned German nation, by false worshippers of faith, who, in their proud curiosity, aiming for the glory of the world, want, in opposition to the doctrine of the Apostle, to be wiser than they ought to

be; whose garrulity (as Jerome saith) would have no credit, unless they seemed to support their perverse doctrine also by divine testimonies, falsely interpreted, and from whose eyes the fear of God hath vanished.

[The distress the greater because the Germans were formerly such defenders of the Church.]

For this we grieve the more, because we and our Predecessors have always entertained for this nation the highest affection. Inasmuch as, since the transfer of the imperial power from the Greeks to the aforesaid Germans by the Roman Church, our aforesaid Predecessors and we have always found among them advocates and defenders of the same Church, it is manifest that these Germans, as true "germans" [brothers] of the Catholic truth, have always been the most zealous assailants of heresies: as witnesses thereof, we appeal to the praiseworthy laws of the German Emperors for the liberty of the Church, and for expelling and exterminating heretics from all Germany, under the most severe penalties, even the loss of lands and dominions, published in former times and confirmed by our Predecessors, against those receiving or not expelling them, which laws if enforced to-day, both we and they would undoubtedly be free from this trouble. As witness thereof, we appeal to the condemnation and punishment of the Hussites and Wiclifites, and of Jerome of Prague in the Council of Constance. As witness thereof, we appeal to the frequent shedding of the blood of the Germans in war against the Bohemians. As witness thereof, we appeal, finally, to the no less learned than true and holy refutation, rejection and condemnation of the aforenamed errors, or many of them, by the Universities of Cologne and Louvain, most godly and devout tillers of the Lord's

field. Many more citations could be made, which we have decided should be omitted, lest we might seem to be composing history.

[Forty-one selected errors in the writings of Martin Luther.]

In the exercise, therefore, of the pastoral office, entrusted us by divine grace, we can without disgrace to the Christian religion, and injury to the orthodox faith, neither tolerate nor pass by longer the deadly poison of the aforenamed errors. Of these errors, we have thought that some should be here cited. Their substance is as follows: [1]

I. It is an heretical but a usual statement, that the Sacraments of the new testament give justifying grace to those who interpose no obstacle.

II. To deny that sin remains in a child after baptism, is to treat both Paul and Christ with contempt.

III. The tinder of sin, even though no actual sin be present, excludes a soul leaving the body from entrance into heaven.

IV. The imperfect love of a dying person necessarily carries with it great fear, which is alone sufficient to produce the punishment of purgatory, and prevents entrance into the kingdom.

V. There is no foundation in holy scripture or in the ancient Christian teachers for the doctrine that there are three parts of penitence, viz., contrition, confession, and satisfaction.

VI. One is made a hypocrite, aye, a great sinner, by

[1 Compare Luther's answer to these forty-one alleged errors in his *Assertio omnium Articulorum*, Weimar, vii., 91 *sqq.*; *Op. var. arg.*, v., 154 *sqq.*; in German, Erlangen, 24 : 52 *sqq.*; Walch, xv., 175, *sqq.*]

contrition arising from self-examination, and reflection upon and detestation of sins, whereby, in the bitterness of his soul, one reviews his years, by considering the gravity of his sins, their multitude and heinousness, the loss of eternal blessedness, and the penalty of eternal condemnation.

VII. Most true is the proverb, and preferable to the doctrine of all hitherto taught concerning contrition, that not to do [penance] is the highest penitence, and a new life the best penitence.

VIII. Presume in no way to confess venial, or even mortal sins, because it is impossible to know all mortal sins; hence in the primitive Church only manifest mortal sins were confessed.

IX. In wishing to confess all things absolutely, we only show our unwillingness to leave anything for the mercy of God to forgive.

X. No sins are forgiven, unless when the priest forgives, the person believes that they are forgiven him; aye, sin would remain unless he would believe that it is forgiven; for the remission of sins and the bestowal of grace are insufficient, but one must believe that sin is forgiven.

XI. Trust in no way that you are absolved because of your contrition, but because of the word of Christ: "Whatsoever ye shall loose," etc. So, I say, trust, if you have obtained absolution of a priest, and believe firmly that you have been absolved; and without regard to contrition, you will be truly absolved.

XII. If it were possible for a person not contrite to confess, or for a priest to absolve not seriously, but in jest, and if one should, nevertheless, believe that he were absolved, he would be absolved.

XIII. In the sacrament of penance, or remission of

guilt, the Pope or Bishop does no more than the lowest priest; aye, when there is no priest, any Christian, even a woman or boy, would do equally well.

XIV. No one should answer the priest that he is contrite, neither should the priest ask it of any one.

XV. Great is the error of those who come to the sacrament of the Eucharist, relying upon the fact that they have confessed; that they are not conscious of any mortal sins; that they have said their prayers and made their preparations. All these eat and drink judgment to themselves: but if they believe and trust that they will there receive grace, this faith alone makes them pure and worthy.

XVI. It would be well for the Church, in a general council, to resolve that the laity should commune under both forms; and the Bohemians communing under both forms, are not heretic, but schismatics.

XVII. The treasures of the Church, from which the Pope gives indulgences, are not the merits of Christ and the saints.

XVIII. Indulgences are pious frauds upon believers, and hindrances to good works, and belong to the number of those things that are lawful, and not to the number of those that are expedient.

XIX. Indulgences do not avail, where truly received, to remit the punishment which divine justice demands for actual sins.

XX. They are deceived who believe that indulgences bring salvation, and a spiritual benefit.

XXI. Indulgences are necessary only for public crimes, and are granted properly only to the hardened and impatient.

XXII. For six classes of men indulgences are not necessary or useful: viz., the dead, or dying, the sick,

those hindered for sufficient reason, those who have not committed crimes, those who have committed crimes, but such as are not public, and those who have reformed.

XXIII. Excommunications are only outward punishments, and do not deprive a man of the common spiritual prayers of the Church.

XXIV. Christians should be taught to love rather than fear excommunication.

XXV. The Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, is not the vicar of Christ, appointed by Christ Himself in St. Peter, over all the churches of the world.

XXVI. The word of Christ to Peter: "Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth," etc., extends only to those things which Peter himself has bound.

XXVII. It is certain that it is within the power neither of the Church nor of the Pope to frame articles of faith or commands concerning morals or good works.

XXVIII. Even though the Pope, with the great part of the Church, should think so and so, and in thus doing should not err, it is still not a sin or heresy, to think the contrary, especially in a matter unnecessary for salvation, until the one were rejected and the other approved by a General Council.

XXIX. We have the liberty [Lit.: "The way has been opened to us"] to state the authority of Councils, and freely contradict their doings and judge their decrees, and confidently confess whatever seems true, whether it have been approved or rejected by any council.

XXX. Some articles of John Hus condemned in the council of Constance are most Christian, true, and evangelical, and cannot be condemned by the universal Church.

XXXI. In every good work, the righteous man sins.

XXXII. A good work done in the best way is a venial sin.

XXXIII. To burn heretics is against the will of the Spirit.

XXXIV. To war against the Turk is to resist God visiting our iniquities upon us through them.

XXXV. No one is sure that he is not always mortally sinning because of the most secret vice of pride.

XXXVI. Free Will after sin is a thing with the title alone, and in doing what belongs to it, sins mortally.

XXXVII. Purgatory cannot be proved from the canonical scriptures.

XXXVIII. Souls in purgatory are not secure with respect to their salvation, at least not all; neither can it be proved either by reason or Scripture, that they are beyond meriting or increasing love.

XXXIX. Souls in purgatory sin without intermission, as long as they seek rest and dread punishments.

XL. Souls delivered from purgatory by the intercessions of the living have less happiness, than if they had made satisfaction of themselves.

XLI. Ecclesiastical prelates and secular princes would do no wrong if they were to entirely suppress all the mendicant orders.

[The Pope denounces the sentences quoted as contrary to Catholic doctrine.]

No one of sound mind is ignorant how poisonous, how pernicious, how scandalous, how seductive to godly and simple minds, and, finally, how contrary to all love and reverence for the holy Roman Church, the mother of all believers, and the mistress of the faith, and the nerve of ecclesiastical discipline, obedience, which is

the fountain and source of all virtues, without which every one is proved to be an infidel, these errors are. Desiring, therefore, in matters of such importance as the aforesaid, to proceed earnestly (as the case demands), and to prevent the spread of this pestilence and cancerous disease, like a noxious thorn in the Lord's field, and having subjected the aforesaid errors, one and all, to diligent investigation and discussion, rigid examination and mature deliberation, and having considered all things in due form and order, and frequently reviewed them with our venerable brethren, the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church and the Priors of the regular orders, or general ministers, and very many other Masters of Sacred Theology, besides Professors or Masters of both Laws, and those too the most accomplished,—we have found the errors (as before said) to be either articles that are not catholic, or such as are not to be regarded as dogmas, but to be contrary to the doctrine or tradition of the Catholic Church, and the true interpretation of the divine scriptures received therefrom, to whose authority, in the opinion of Augustine, such respect should be shown that he would not believe the Gospel, unless the authority of the Catholic Church would intervene. For according to these errors, or one or several of them, it manifestly follows that the same Church that is ruled by the holy Spirit errs and always has erred. This is undoubtedly contrary to what Christ said to His disciples at His ascension (as it is read in the Gospel of St. Matthew): "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world"; as well as to the decisions of the holy Fathers, and to the express enactments or canons of the Council and supreme Pontiffs, disobedience to which, according to the testimony of Cyprian, has been the tinder and cause of all heresies and schisms.

[The Pope condemns the teaching of the sentences and prohibits it and its defence.]

By the advice and with the approval, therefore, of our aforenamed venerable brethren, and with the already mentioned mature deliberation of each and all the above, upon the authority of God almighty, and of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and our own, each and all the aforesaid articles, or errors (according to what has been already stated), we condemn, repudiate, and altogether reject as heretical or scandalous or false or offensive to pious ears, or seductive to simple minds and opposed to the Catholic truth, and, in accordance with the purpose of these letters, decree and declare that they should be treated as condemned, repudiated, and rejected by all the faithful in Christ of both sexes. We also prohibit, in virtue of the holy obedience, and under penalty of the proclamation of the sentence of the greater excommunication, depriving both Ecclesiastics and Regulars [*i. e.*, members of orders] of all the ecclesiastical dignities or investitures of all Episcopal and also Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other Cathedral Churches, as well as of Monasteries, Priories, and Convents, and the like, whether of Secular or Regular Orders, and disqualifying them for these and other things to be obtained in the future. Convents, Chapters, or houses, or pious places of seculars or regulars, also of the Mendicants, and likewise the Universities we prohibit under penalty of the deprival of whatever privileges have been granted by the Apostolic See or its Legates, or have been held and obtained in any other way, and whatever be the tenure by which they stand: likewise the deprival of the name and power of conducting a university, and of lecturing upon and interpreting any sciences and branches, and of disqualification for

these and other things to be obtained in the future: also by the penalty of the loss of the office of Preaching and of general study and of all the privileges thereof. The seculars likewise we prohibit under penalty of the same excommunication and the loss of every feudal tenure, whether acquired from the Roman Church, or in any other way whatever, and also of disqualification of these and other things to be obtained hereafter. Each and all the above-named we prohibit under penalty of the prohibition of Ecclesiastical burial, and of disqualification for each and all transactions at law, and the penalties of infamy, and challenging and treason, and the punishments laid down in the law against heretics and their favourers, to be incurred by the fact and without further explanation by each and all the above-mentioned, if (as we hope not) they withstand us. From these penalties they cannot be absolved in virtue of any power and exceptions entrusted to any to whom confession shall be made, or under any form of words whatever, unless by the Roman Pontiff, or one having special authority therefor from him—those alone excepted who are at the point of death. Each and all believers in Christ, of both sexes, Lay and Clerical, Seculars and members of whatever Regular Order, and every other person, of whatever estate, grade, or condition he may be, and in whatever worldly or ecclesiastical dignity he may shine, even in the Holy Roman Church, the Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and the prelates, clergy, and other ecclesiastical persons of the Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other cathedral, Collegiate, and inferior churches, Clerks and other Ecclesiastical persons, the Seculars and regulars of whatever Mendicant Orders, the Abbots, Priors, or Ministers, whether general or particular, the Brethren or Religious, exempt or non-

exempt: the Secular members of Universities, and regulars of whatever Order of Mendicants, as well as Kings, the Electors of the Emperor, Princes, Dukes, Marquises, Counts, Barons, Captains, Conductors, Chamberlains, and all Officials, Judges, Ecclesiastical and Secular Notaries, Communities, Universities, Powers, Cities, Camps, Lands, and places, or their citizens, inhabitants, and tenants, or any other persons, Ecclesiastical or Regular (as before said), everywhere throughout the world, especially living in Germany, or who for a time will live there,—we warn not to presume to assert, affirm, defend, or preach the above-named errors or any one of them, and such perverse doctrine, not in any way, publicly or secretly, or from any purpose or pretext, silently or expressly to favour them.

[Any use of Luther's writings prohibited, and they are to be publicly burned.]

Since the errors aforenamed and many others are contained in the books or writings of Martin Luther, the books mentioned and all the writings or sermons of said Martin, whether found in Latin or any other idiom, in which the said errors or any thereof are contained, we absolutely condemn, repudiate and entirely reject, and wish them to be regarded as condemned, repudiated, and rejected (as before said), enjoining in virtue of the holy obedience [that is due] and under liability, by the very act, to the penalties aforenamed, each and every faithful one in Christ, of both sexes above named, not to presume, in any way, to read, quote, preach, commend, print, publish, or defend such writings, books, sermons, or schedules, whether by himself or through others, directly or indirectly, silently or expressly, publicly or secretly, or to possess them either in their own houses or in other

public or private places: but that immediately upon the publication of these letters, wherever they may be, under penalty of each and all the above-named punishments, the officials and others above mentioned make a diligent search for said writings, and publicly and solemnly burn them, in the presence of the clergy and the people.

[Stubbornness of Luther in repelling the kind attempts of the Pope to convince him of his error.]

As to Martin himself (good God!) what office of paternal affection have we neglected or left undone or omitted in order to recall him from such errors? For since wishing to proceed with great mildness, we cited him, and invited and exhorted him, both through various interviews with our legate, and by letter, to desist from the aforenamed errors, or, a safe-conduct and the necessary travelling expenses being offered him, to come without fear or apprehension, and, although it would have been consistent with perfect love to have cast him out, we urged him to address us, according to the example of our Saviour and of the Apostle Paul, not secretly, but openly, and face to face. Had he done this, he would undoubtedly (as we think) have returned to his senses, and acknowledged his errors, nor would he have found in the court of Rome as many errors as he charges us with, by ascribing more weight than is their due to the vain rumours of malevolent persons: and I would have taught him more clearly than light, that the holy Roman Pontiffs, whom he maliciously attacks beyond all bounds, have never erred in their canons or constitutions, which he seeks to attack: because, according to the prophet, neither balm nor a physician is wanting in Gilead. But he has persistently disobeyed, and despising the above citation, and each and all things above said, has borne

the censures insolently and with a hardened heart for over a year: and what is worse, adding evil to evil, having knowledge of said citation, he has broken out in a declaration of a rash appeal to a future council, against the decree of Pius the Second and Julius the Second our predecessors, whereby they who thus appeal are warned that they will incur the penalty of heretics (for in vain does he seek aid from a Council, who openly declares that he does not believe such council); so that against him, as one notoriously under suspicion, with respect to faith, we can proceed, without further citation or delay, to his condemnation and damnation, as that of a heretic, and to the severity of each and all above-enumerated penalties and censures.

[Repetition of this kind attempt.]

Nevertheless, at the advice of the same brethren, imitating the clemency of almighty God, who wishes not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may be converted and live, forgetful of all the injuries thus far offered us and the Apostolic see, we have determined to exercise all gentleness, and, so far as in us lies, to act so that, the way of clemency being offered him, he may be brought back to his senses, and withdraw from the aforenamed errors, that we may kindly receive him, as a prodigal returning to the bosom of the Church. With our whole heart, therefore, we exhort and beg the said Martin and his adherents and his harbourers and favourers, by the bowels of mercy of our God, and by the sprinkling of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, by and through whom the redemption of the human race and the building up of the holy mother Church have been accomplished, to desist from disturbing the peace, unity, and truth of the Church, for which the Saviour so earnestly

prayed the Father, and to abstain entirely from the said pernicious errors, with the assurance that, if they effectually obey, and certify us by legal documents, that they have so obeyed, they shall find with us the affection of paternal love, and the opened fountain of mildness and clemency.

[Luther and his followers silenced and given sixty days to publicly recant.]

Enjoining, nevertheless, the said Martin, from now on, meanwhile, to desist from all preaching or office of preaching, and otherwise [declaring] against Martin himself, that, if perchance the love of virtue do not withdraw him from sin, and the hope of indulgence lead him to repentance, the terror of the discipline of punishment may restrain him; the same Martin and his adherents, accomplices, favourers, and harbourers, we require according to the tenor of the present letters, and we admonish, in virtue of the holy obedience [that is due] and we command by rigidly directing that, under liability of incurring by the deed, each and all the penalties to be incurred by the very act, that, within sixty days immediately following (of which twenty for the first, twenty for the second, and the remaining twenty for the third peremptory limit), to be reckoned from the posting up of the present letters in the below-named places, Martin himself, his accomplices, favourers, adherents, and harbourers aforementioned, altogether desist from the above-named errors, and their proclamation, publication, assertion, and defence, and from the circulation of books or writings upon them or any of them, and that they burn or cause to be burned all the books and writings, containing, in any way, each or all the aforesaid errors, or any one of them. That Martin

LUDWIG VON SECKENDORF,
THE HISTORIAN OF THE REFORMATION.
FROM AN ENGRAVING BY HEINZELMANN.

himself also entirely recall such errors and assertions, and inform us concerning such recall by public documents, in the valid form of law, signed by two prelates, and to be transmitted to us within other sixty days, or in person if he be willing to come to us (as we would prefer) with the aforenamed unlimited safe-conduct, which, from now on, we grant, in order to remove every scruple of doubt as to his true obedience.

[If they do not recant they are to be condemned as heretics and handed over to the secular arm for punishment.]

But if (as we hope not) the said Martin and the aforesaid accomplices, favourers, adherents, and harbourers do otherwise, or do not fulfil effectually each and all their promises within the set limit, in accord with the teaching of the Apostle, who declared that an heretical man, after the first and second admonitions, is to be avoided, from now as from then, and conversely, we condemn the same Martin and the said accomplices, adherents, favourers, and harbourers, and any of them, as withered branches not abiding in Christ, but teaching a contrary doctrine, hostile to the Catholic faith, whether scandalous and condemned, to the no small offence of the divine majesty, and a detriment and scandal to the universal Church and the Catholic faith, depreciating the keys of the Church, and declaring that notorious and obstinate heretics have been and are of the same authority, and as in the rank of such heretics; and we will and command that they be regarded such by all the faithful in Christ above mentioned of both sexes. These, all and each, we subject to all the above-named and other penalties inflicted by law against such, and declare and decree that they are and have been ensnared in the same.

[The Faithful are to burn the writings of Luther, under penalty of being condemned and punished like him.]

Under liability to incur, by the very act, all and each of the aforenamed punishments, we enjoin upon each and all the faithful in Christ above named, not to presume in any way to read, quote, refer to, praise, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by another or others, directly or indirectly, silently or expressly, publicly or secretly, or to have in their homes or other places, public or private, even the writings or any of them not containing the above-named errors, that have either been already published or that are to be composed and published hereafter by the said Martin, but, as aforesaid, to burn them, since they are written by a man hostile to the orthodox faith, and, therefore, are particularly under suspicion, and that the memory of him may be entirely obliterated from the faithful in Christ.

[The Faithful must have no intercourse with the Lutheran heretics under penalty of excommunication after the limit has been passed.]

Furthermore, under penalty of the same sentence of excommunication, we admonish each and all the above-mentioned faithful in Christ, after the expiration of the limit stated, to avoid the declared and condemned heretics aforesaid, who do not comply with our commands, and, so far as they can, cause them to be avoided, and neither with the same nor with any of them to have communication or any conversation or intercourse, nor to supply them with the necessaries of life.

[The Faithful, lay and clerical, are required to arrest Luther and his followers and send them to Rome after the limit has been passed.]

Besides, for the greater confusion of said Martin and

his accomplices, favourers, adherents, and harbourers, and thus of those declared and condemned heretics after the expiration of the fixed limit, we command each and all faithful in Christ of both sexes, Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, the Prelates and Chapters and other ecclesiastical persons of Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other cathedral, collegiate, and inferior churches, secular or regular, whatever be the Order of Mendicants (especially those of the congregation of which said Martin is a member, and in which he is said to be living and staying) exempt and non-exempt, and each and every prince, whatever be the ecclesiastical or worldly dignity in which he shine, Kings, Electors of the Emperor, Dukes, Marquises, Counts, Barons, Captains, Conductors, Chamberlains, Communities, Universities, Powers, Cities, Lands, Camps, and places, or their inhabitants, citizens, and tenants, and all others, each and every one, above mentioned throughout the whole World, especially those living in Germany, that, under the aforenamed penalties, all and each, they or any of them, personally arrest the said Martin, and his accomplices, adherents, harbourers, and favourers, and hold them when arrested subject to our demand, and send them to us, to receive in return for so good a work from us and the Apostolical See due remuneration and reward; or, at least, that the clergy and the members of Orders, as well as the laymen, one and all above named, entirely expel them, and every one of them, from the Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other churches, houses, Monasteries, Convents, Cities, Domains, Universities, Communities, Camps, Lands, and territories respectively.

[An interdict will lie upon any place harbouring Luther or his followers.]

But the Cities, Domains, Lands, Camps, Villages, palaces, fortresses, Towns, and places, wherever they may lie, as well as their Metropolitan, Cathedral, Collegiate, and other churches, Monasteries, Priories, Houses, Convents, and religious places, of whatever order (as before said), to which the said Martin or any of the aforenamed may resort are to be shunned, [and] we subject [them] to the ecclesiastical interdict as long as he remains there and for three days after his departure.

[All ecclesiastics enjoined to announce the condemnation of Luther and his followers.]

And, in order that what is above declared may be made known to all, we command all the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, the Prelates of the Patriarchal, Metropolitan, and other cathedral and collegiate churches, Chapters, and other ecclesiastical persons, whether seculars or regulars, of whatever Order, members of religious fraternities, whether exempt or non-exempt monks, as above mentioned, everywhere, and especially those living in Germany, that they or any of them, under liability of incurring by the very act the same censures and penalties, to publicly announce in their churches, on the Lord's Day and other festival days, when the largest number of people assemble for divine worship, that the said Martin and each and all those above mentioned, who at the expiration of the time have not obeyed our commands and admonitions, have been declared heretics, and condemned, and to cause and order such announcement to be made by others, and that they be avoided by all. Likewise, that all the Christian faithful avoid them, in like manner under the abovenamed censure and penalties. And that they cause the present letters or a copy of them made according to the form below written,

to be read, published, and posted in their churches, monasteries, houses, convents, and other places. We also excommunicate and anathematise each and all of whatever estate, rank, condition, eminence, dignity, and excellence, who shall do aught or in any way provide, by himself, or through another or others, publicly or secretly, directly or indirectly, silently or expressly, to hinder the present letters or transcripts or copies thereof from being read, posted and published in their lands and dominions.

[Certified copies of this Bull will answer in place of the original for posting.]

Lastly, since it will be difficult to send the present letters to every place where necessary, we determine and decree by Apostolic authority, that transcripts of the same prepared and signed by the hand of a public notary, or printed in the nourishing City [Rome], and attested by the seal of any ecclesiastical Prelate, shall, when presented or displayed, have everywhere equal authority and credit, as the original letters.

[Plan to make it impossible that Luther should be ignorant of the Bull.]

And lest the aforementioned Martin and all the others above named, whom the present letters in any way concern, should be able to pretend ignorance of these same letters and of each and all contained therein, we will that the same letters be published, and posted on the doors of the Cathedral of the Chief of the Apostles, and of the Apostolic Chancellery, as well as of the Cathedrals of the churches of Brandenburg, Meissen, and Merseburg, decreeing that the publication of the same letters thus made binds the above-mentioned

Martin and each and all others whom such letters concern, just as though these letters on the day when they were posted up and published, had been personally read to such and had been made known to them, since it is not probable that those things which are done so openly should remain unknown to them.

[No legal hindrance to the Bull.]

Nor do the apostolical laws and ordinances oppose any hindrance, or, if any indulgence or concession exist that has been conceded to all and each of the above mentioned or any of them, or to any others, by the abovementioned Apostolical See, or by those having authority from it, under whatever form (even in letters of indulgence and with some most strong reservations) or from whatever cause, or important consideration, that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by Apostolical letters, which make no full and explicit, and word for word mention, but only imply the same by general exceptions,—having the grants, causes, and forms of the same favour, as though they had been inserted word for word, so that present things being regarded as expressly stated, the entire provision is annulled.

[No one dare oppose the Bull under penalty of the Divine anger.]

Let no one, therefore, infringe upon, or, by his rash boldness, contradict this page of our condemnation, reprobation, rejection, decree, declaration, inhibition, will, command, exhortation, obsecration, requisition, monition, assignment, concession, condemnation, subjection, excommunication, and anathematisation. If, however, any presume to attempt this, let him know that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given at St Peter's, Rome, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, the One Thousand Five Hundred and Twentieth. On the seventeenth day before the first of July [*i. e.*, Friday, June 15th]. The Eighth Year of our pontificate.

Attested. R. MILANESIUS.

ALBERGATUS.

Printed at Rome by JACOB MAZOCHIUS.
By command of S. D. N. [*i. e.*, our holy Lord] Pope [Leo X.].

[As the papal Bulls are called after the opening word or words, this is cited as "Exsurge Domini," these being the first two words.]

APPENDIX II

LUTHER'S CONFESSION

[In the invaluable series of volumes that have been in process of publication under the authority of the British Government for a number of years, known as "The Master of the Rolls Series," there is much material drawn from the archives of various European governments, bearing upon Luther and the history of the Reformation that has not been utilised by Church historians. In the volume of the Venetian Papers, published under the title: *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice and in Other Libraries of Northern Italy*, vol. iv., 1527–1533, edited by Rawson Brown, published by the authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, London, 1871, there is an Appendix, pp. 497–515, with thirty-five documents, under the heading, "The Confession of Augsburg." Among these documents is the following translation of what is called "Luther's Confession," which is marked as registered by Paul Sanuto, the Venetian ambassador to Germany, May 31, 1531. It proves to be a most admirable translation of the Schwabach Articles of October 16, 1529, found in Latin in the histories of the Augsburg Confession by Chytraeus (159 *sqq.*) and Coelestine (25 *sqq.*). The fact that at the date given it was in the hands of Sanuto, indicates that its presentation as the confession of the Lutheran Princes was at that time under consideration. The dependence of the Augsburg Confession upon it is self-evident. We insert it with the punctuation and capitalisation of the Roll Series, as a most accurate official summary of Luther's teaching.]

CONFESSION OF THE OPINION OR MANIFESTO (*RESOLUTIO INTENTIONIS*) OF MARTIN LUTHER; FOR PROPOSAL IN THE PRESENT IMPERIAL DIET OF AUGSBURG, COMPRISED IN SEVENTEEN ARTICLES.

Ist Article.—Man is to be taught firmly and "*unanimiter*" that the only (*solum unicum*) true God is the Creator of Heaven and Earth, so that (*ita quod*) in the single (*unicâ*) true, divine essence, there be three distinct persons, namely, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost; which Son begotten of the Father, being eternally by nature from the beginning true God together with the Father and the Holy Ghost (proceeding ?) from the one and the other, from the Father and from the Son, he likewise from the beginning being eternally by nature true God with the Father and the Son; all which can be clearly and irrefragably demonstrated by Holy Writ, according to the First of John: "In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him," &c., and in the last of Matthew: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

IInd Article.—That God's Son alone became man, of a pure virgin born, perfect in body and mind; nor were the Father and the Holy Ghost made man, as taught by certain heretics. Moreover the Son did not assume the body alone, without the soul, as the Phocinians (*Photiniani*) said; as in the Gospel he himself very often speaks of his soul, as when he says: "My soul is sorrowful unto death," &c.; and that the Son of Man be man, is expressly said by St. John, chapter 1: "And the Word was made flesh," and in the 4th chapter of Gala-

tians: "But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son," &c.

IIIrd Article.—That God the Son, true God and Lord Jesus Christ, be one sole indivisible Person, [who] suffered for us men, was crucified, died, was buried, rose again the third day from the dead, ascended into heaven, sat on the right hand of God, Lord over the whole creation (*super omnes creaturas*) so that it neither may nor can be believed or taught that Jesus Christ, as man, or as having assumed this human form, suffered for us; but that it should be believed and taught that under this form, being God and man, not two persons but one person indivisible, God and man, Son of God, he really suffered for us: as in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "He that spared not his own son, but delivered him up for us all"; and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 2, "for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory."

IVth Article.—That original sin be a real sin according to the correct, true quality, nature or form of sin, and not merely a lack (*privacio*) deficiency, or want, but sin of such a sort, that it condemns and separates from God all men descended from Adam, had not Jesus Christ presented himself for us, taking upon himself this sin, and all sins proceeding thence, atoning for them by his passion, having thus entirely removed and cancelled them in himself, as clearly written concerning this sin in 52 (*sic* 51st) Psalm and Rom. 5.

Vth Article.—As now therefore, all men are sinners subject to sin and death, and moreover to the Devil likewise, it is impossible for any man by his own exertions and good works, to rid, disembarrass and free himself from them by these works, or by their means justify himself anew, or become assuredly good

and just; nor can he prepare or dispose himself for justice or justification; nay, the more he proposes, or intends, labouring of himself to exonerate, free or purge and justify himself, the worse does his condition become. The only way therefore to justice (*justitiam*) and the absolution from sin and death is this—without any merit or work to have faith and believe in the Son of God, who suffered for us, etc. as aforesaid. This faith is our justice; for God of his justice, goodness and holiness, commands (*Deus enim vult*) man to believe and hold, that He has chosen to pardon the sins of all men, or give them gratuitously, life eternal. Those who have this faith in the Son of God are through that Son to be received into His grace, and be sons in His kingdom, etc. All these things are taught diffusely by Saints Paul and John, in their epistles, as in chapter 10 to the Romans: "For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness," etc.; and in the 3rd chapter of St. John: "He that believeth on the Son, doth not perish, but hath everlasting life."

VIth Article.—That this faith is not human, nor even possible for our strength, but is the work of God, and a gift which the Holy Ghost operates in us given us through Christ; and such like faith, when not feeble, or an infirm opinion, or an obscure adhesion of the heart, such as the pseudo-faithful have, but a vigorous, fresh, lively, essential substance, is a thing bearing much fruit; always operating good things with regard to God, praising, thanking, praying, preaching and teaching; with regard to man *(erga proximum)* loving, serving, aiding, counselling, lending and enduring every adversity until death.

VIIth Article.—To acquire for, or give us men this faith, God instituted the office of preaching or the word

of the allocution of the mouth, that is to say, of the tongue, namely the Gospel, by means of which he causes the utility and fruit of this faith and power, or virtue, to be promulgated and preached; and for this same word, thus sown, he also gives, as the means, the faith, through his Holy Ghost. Notwithstanding the opinion of others, there is no other mode, or way, or path, or road, to acquire the faith. Our meditations, save and except the word of mouth (*verbum oris*), although they may appear holy and good, are, nevertheless, vain, mendacious and erroneous.

VIIIth Article.—With regard to this "word" of preaching (*prædicationis*) delivered by the living mouth, or together with it, God also instituted external signs called sacraments, especially baptism and the eucharist, through which, together with the "word," God also gives faith and his Holy Ghost, and comfort to all who desire it.

IXth Article.—Baptism—the first sign or sacrament—is effected by two things—by water and by the word of God. Baptism is performed by water, and the utterance of the word of God; the effect being produced not by mere water or washing—as now taught by the blasphemers about baptism; but by uniting the word of God with the sprinkling of water; which washing, based on the word of God, is holy and efficacious; as in St. Paul's Epistle to Titus, chapter 3, and to the Ephesians, chapter 5, "the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost" (Tit. 3: 5), and "that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word" (Eph. 5: 26). And this baptism be administered and communicated even to infants, as the words of God, whereon baptism is based are these: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matth.

28: 19). He who will believe, must believe this likewise (*qui crediderit, et jam ibi oportet credere*).

Xth Article.—That the Eucharist or sacrament of the Altar, consists moreover in two things, and especially that there be truly (*veraciter*) present in the bread and wine, the true body and blood of Christ, according to the tenour of the words: "This is my Body; this is my Blood," and not merely the bread and wine, as the appearance would cause it to be believed. These words require faith, and moreover induce it in all who desire the sacrament, and do not act contrary thereto; in like manner, as baptism also lends and gives faith, when the desire for it exists.

XIth Article. — That secret confession (*confessio secreta*) ought not to be compulsory as precept and law, but free, neither should baptism itself, the Sacraments, the Gospel (*evangelium*) be enforced; though it be known that the consolation is wholesome, fruitful, useful and good; that thereby absolution—which is the word and sentence of God—is given. The conscience being thus free, relieved and tranquillized, recovers from its mental disquietude; but it is not at all necessary to enumerate every sin, merely notifying and concealing such as corrode (*mordent*) the heart and disquiet it.

XIIth Article.—That there is no doubt whatever but that the Holy Christian Church will last on earth eternally, as Christ says in the last of Matthew: "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." This Church is formed by the believers in Christ, who maintain, believe and teach the aforesaid articles and particulars (*articulos et particulas*) and, therefore, suffer persecution and martyrdom in the world; for where the Gospel is preached and the sacraments rightly administered or conferred, there is the Holy Christian Church;

nor is it to be fashioned, instructed or bound by institutions, rights or laws, by extrinsics, state, pomp or mode of living, custom or habit, nor by hours or seasons, persons or ceremonies.

XIIIth Article.—That our Lord Jesus Christ will come at the end of the world, to judge the living and the dead, and will free his faithful [followers] from all evil, and will lead them into life eternal; he will punish the infidels and those condemned by God, namely bad men; and will condemn them eternally, together with the Devil, to Hell.

XIVth Article.—That in the meanwhile until the Lord shall come to [pass] judgment and [assume] all power (*potestatem*) and sovereign dominion (*dominandi superioritatem*), the secular and temporal sovereignty and dominion is to be honored and obeyed, as a Government (*statui*), thus ordained for the defence of good men and the dispersion of the wicked; so that a Christian man when cited in a regular or legitimate manner for this purpose, without deceit, and peril to his faith and salvation of his soul, may bless or adhere to that Government, and serve it diligently.

XVth Article.—From the whole writing, it appears, that the doctrine which forbids marriage to priests and friars—namely the clergy—and to the people in general meat and food (*carnes ac cibos*) is all of a piece (*una pariter cum omni*).

XVIth Article.—That amongst all the errors or things to be avoided, there be included the mass, hitherto considered so efficacious and so much reverenced, that thereby one man procured grace for another. Instead of it be the divine ordinance or disposition observed, the Holy Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; be it administered under both forms to every one, according to his faith, and the measure of his need.

DUKE ERNEST THE PIOUS, CHAMPION OF THE LUTHERAN CAUSE IN THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

FROM AN ENGRAVING BY JACOB SANDRART.

XVIIth Article. — That the church ceremonies at variance with Holy Writ be abolished. The observance of the others to be optional, in such wise as not to create scandal causelessly or from levity; and that the common peace be not disturbed unnecessarily.

Registered by SANUTO,
May 31st.

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